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THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE

Moſt Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Acceſſion of HENRY VIII. to the preſent Time. Including, a Complete Hiſtory of ENGLAND from that Æra.

In SIX VOLUMES.

Ornamented with elegant Frontiſpieces.

VOL. III.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

THE Life of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorſet - - - - - - - - - - - - Page 1
The Life of Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Saliſbury 12
The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh - - - - - 23
The Life of Francis Bacon, Viſcount St. Albans, Baron of Verulam, and Lord High Chancellor of England - - - - - - - 55
The Life of Lancelot Andrews, Biſhop of Wincheſter - - - - - - - - - - 76
The Life of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham - - - - - - - - - - - 85
The Life of George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury - - - - - - - - - - 115
The Life of Sir Edward Coke, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of England - - - - - - - - 131
The Life of Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford - - - - - - - - - - 159
The Life of Richard Boyle, Earl of Corke 178
The Life of John Hampden - - - - - - 185
The Life of William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury - - - - - - - - - - 196
The Life of John Williams, Archbiſhop of York, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England - - - - - - - - - - 226

SUPPLE-

SUPPLEMENT.

Memoirs of Beaumont and Fletcher, and Philip Maſſinger, Dramatic Poets - - - - Page 248
The Life of Ben Jonſon, Dramatic Poet. With Memoirs of Michael Drayton and William Drummond - - - - - - - 256
The Life of Sir Robert Cotton, Baronet. Including Memoirs of John Speed - - 270
The Life of Sir Henry Spelman, Antiquarian 278
The Life of William Dobſon, Hiſtory and Portrait Painter - - - - - - - - - 285
The Life of Inigo Jones, Architect - - 287
The Life of Dr. James Uſher, Archiſhop of Armagh - - - - - - - - - - - - 297

Being the moſt eminent perſons who flouriſhed in the reigns of JAMES I. and CHARLES I.

THE

THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The LIFE of

THOMAS SACKVILLE,

EARL of DORSET.

[A. D. 1536, to 1608.]

WE are now entering upon an æra of the Britiſh hiſtory, diſtinguiſhed by the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland in the perſon of James (Stuart) the ſixth ſovereign of Scotland of that name, and the firſt of England; who ſucceeded to the throne of England by hereditary right, upon the extinction of the race of Tudors, of which queen Elizabeth was the laſt deſcendant. Whether it was owing to the natural inconſtancy

of the people, their love of novelty, or the high expectations they had formed of James, from the flattering characters which had been drawn of him by his friends at the Engliſh court, and by thoſe who were deſtined to follow his fortunes from Scotland, and to enjoy rank and office in his new dominions, is not ſo eaſily determined at this diſtance of time; but certain it is, that no prince ever aſcended the Britiſh throne with louder acclamations, or was received with more tokens of frantic joy by his ſubjects than James I.

The public rejoicings, upon this extraordinary occaſion, were however greatly checked, and the fervent zeal of his Engliſh ſubjects ſoon ſubſided, when they ſaw what a profuſion of dignities, of grants, and of penſions, were laviſhed upon the ſwarms of Scots, who had attended their ſovereign to his new kingdom, in order to feed upon the fat of a land, ſo much more fertile and grateful than their own.

At the ſame time, the eyes of all the potentates of Europe were fixed with eager expectation on James; and their reſpective courts were divided in opinion, as their inclinations and party-connections influenced them, with reſpect to the line of conduct intended to be purſued by the new king. On the one hand, the popiſh powers conſidered him as the ſon of a martyr to the cauſe of their holy religion, they thought the embers of his reſentment for the tragical death of his mother were only ſmothered for a time, from political motives, particularly, that he might not irritate Elizabeth to attempt ſome other ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to the Britiſh crown; but they now expected it would blaze forth with redoubled fury. On the other, the allied proteſtant princes and ſtates, who had been ſo powerfully aſſiſted and ſupported by the late

late queen, dreading a change of measures, and totally kept in the dark with respect to the true character of James, were as anxious as the other party, to court, and if possible, to secure his favour.

This complexion of the times, produced an emulation on the continent, who should send the most speedy, honourable, and splendid embassies to England, to felicitate the king on his taking possession of his new-acquired dominions, and to negociate new treaties and alliances. The splendor of the English court was thus, by the critical situation of the affairs of Europe, considerably increased; foreigners of distinction from every quarter resorting to it, in the retinues of the ambassadors, from their respective countries. As for James, he had long foreseen the delicate circumstances in which he should find himself upon his first coming to the throne of England, both at home and abroad; and conscious of the alterations he intended to make in the foreign and domestic concerns of this kingdom, as soon as he was firmly seated, he began his reign with the only act of sound policy, for which he was memorable.

This apostolic king, set an example to his countrymen, which they literally follow to this hour. The admonition is St. Paul's, but it should seem that the royal modern instructor made more converts by adopting it and reducing it to practice, than the apostle barely by preaching it. "*Be all things to all men*," is the grand prescription which gives riches and honours to the Scots of the present day, under the auspices of George III. The happy adoption of this maxim, obliged James, who detested the memory of Elizabeth to such a degree, that he would never wear mourning for her, nor suffer it to be worn in his presence; to continue in the administration of government, the very ministers, through whose influence and that of their

families in the late reign, his mother was brought to the block. The reader will readily perceive that I mean Thomas Sackville, then lord Buckhurſt, and Sir Robert Cecil; but the reaſons of this conduct will more evidently appear in the courſe of their lives, which now follow both in the order of time, and of hiſtoric facts: with this exception, that we muſt go back to antecedent events, in order to bring them forward regularly on the public theatre, and to explain the cauſes which contributed to their further promotion under James I.

Thomas Sackville, was the ſon of Richard Sackville, Eſq; by Winifred, the daughter of Sir John Bruges, lord-mayor of London. He was born at Buckhurſt in Suſſex, the ſeat of the ancient family of the Sackvilles, in the year 1536; and it was from this ſeat he derived his baron's title of lord Buckhurſt. He was ſent to Oxford, towards the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. but he afterwards removed to Cambridge, where he took the degree of maſter of arts. From thence he came to London, and entered into the law-ſociety of the Inner-Temple; not with a view of following the profeſſion, but by the ſtudy of the municipal law of the land, to qualify himſelf for the public ſervice of his country in parliament.

He obtained a ſeat in the houſe of commons, towards the end of the reign of queen Mary; and thus becoming a public character, he neglected the muſes, to whom he had devoted great part of his time, inſomuch, that while he was at the univerſity, he was deemed a good poet; and during his reſidence in the Temple, he eſtabliſhed his reputation by his moral, dramatic work, intitled, "The Induction, or Introduction to the Mirror of Magiſtrates." It conſiſts of a ſeries of poems, exhibiting examples of very bad men, in high ſtations, who

who met with extraordinary punishments, and ended their lives in misery or infamy; the characters are formed upon the plan of the drama, and the moral of the performance, is recommendatory of virtuous actions, as the means of avoiding the catastrophes which befell them. It was greatly admired at the time of its publication, and by the most judicious critics is considered as equal to Spenser's Fairy Queen; the stile and manner are similar, and perhaps, if the induction had succeeded, instead of being prior to the Fairy Queen, it would have claimed the preference.

In 1561, four years after the appearance of the induction, Mr. Sackville produced a tragedy for the stage, intitled, "Ferrex and Porrex, the two Sons of Gorboduc, king of Britain;" in which however he was assisted by Mr. Norton, who wrote the three first acts; this was the first tragedy in English verse, and it was received with very great applause by the public, after it had been performed by the gentlemen of the Inner-Temple before queen Elizabeth, at Whitehall. The title was afterwards changed to Gorboduc, and several spurious editions being published by the booksellers, the author published a correct edition in 1570.

Sir Philip Sidney gives the following character of this play: "Gorboduc is full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca's stile; and as full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach, and thereby obtains the very end of poetry." We may add, that whoever reads it with attention, and considers the infant state of English poetry, at the time it was written (many years before the appearance of Shakespeare) must allow that it merited the pains taken by Pope and Spence to retrieve it from oblivion, which they effected, by recommending it to

the manager of Drury-lane theatre in 1736, where it had a great run; and the ſame year Mr. Spence publiſhed a new edition, which is the beſt.

In the firſt parliament of queen Elizabeth, Mr. Sackville was elected knight of the ſhire for the county of Suſſex, and his father, Sir Richard Sackville, was choſen at the ſame time for Kent; and in the ſecond parliament of that reign, the father was returned for Suſſex, and the ſon for Buckinghamſhire. About this time, he viſited France and Italy, and during his tour, he was impriſoned at Rome, but on what account we have no information, being only told that this was his ſituation in 1566, when he received the news of his father's death, upon which he was releaſed; and being now in poſſeſſion of a large eſtate, it is a rational concluſion, that it was ſome affair of debt, for which he was enabled to give ſecurity, and thus obtained leave to return home.

He was graciouſly received by the queen, who ſoon after conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and then raiſed him to the dignity of a peer, by the ſtyle and title of lord Buckhurſt. The ſame extravagance which moſt probably had involved him in difficulties abroad, ſtill accompanied him; and he now aſſumed ſuch ſplendor and magnificence in his manner of living, that his income, great as it was, could not ſupply, and he was obliged to borrow money upon uſurious terms, a circumſtance however, which accidentally contributed to reclaim him: for being one day obliged to wait a conſiderable time, at the houſe of an alderman of London, who had advanced him money, and who knowing his neceſſitous circumſtances, paid no regard to his high rank, and would not come down to him till he thought proper; lord Buckhurſt was ſo mortified, that he turned œconomiſt from this time, that he might

might not be expoſed in future to ſuch inſults; and the queen receiving him into particular favour, he was ſoon after enabled to extricate himſelf from all inconveniencies, by the conſiderable employments he held under her Majeſty. Not only his merit, but his affinity recommended him to Elizabeth; his grandfather, having married a ſiſter of Sir Thomas Boleyne, the queen's maternal grandfather: we therefore find him employed on the moſt honourable embaſſies, ſuited to the dignity of his family. In 1571, he was ſent ambaſſador to Charles IX. king of France, to congratulate that monarch on his marriage with the emperor Maximilian's daughter, and to negociate the treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and queen Elizabeth. In 1586, being then of the queen's cabinet-council, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the trial of Mary queen of Scots; and when the parliament had confirmed the ſentence of death paſſed upon that princeſs, he was ſelected to inform her of it, and to ſee it carried into execution.

In 1587, the queen ſhewed the greateſt confidence in lord Buckhurſt, by ſending him in quality of her ambaſſador extraordinary, to ſettle the diſputes that had ariſen between the States-General of the United Provinces, and the earl of Leiceſter, and this delicate truſt he executed with ſuch impartiality, that he gained the eſteem of the ſtates, who expreſſed their ſatisfaction to the queen; but Leiceſter's pride and jealouſy made him refuſe to ſubmit to lord Buckhurſt's prudent compromiſe of the quarrel between him and the ſtates, from which he appealed to the queen, whoſe partiality to her favourite was ſo great, that ſhe not only recalled lord Buckhurſt, but at the inſtigation of Leiceſter, confined him to his houſe nine or ten months; on pretext, that he had made improper conceſſions to

the Dutch; but upon the death of the earl of Leiceſter, he was reſtored to favour, and advanced to new honours. In 1590, he was made a knight of the garter, and the following year, by the queen's expreſs recommendation, he was elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; and as a mark of her Majeſty's approbation of their choice, ſhe viſited the univerſity in 1592, ſtaid there ſeveral days, and honoured with her preſence, the various entertainments and banquets prepared for her by the chancellor.

In 1598, he was made coadjutor to lord Burleigh, in the negociation for a peace with Spain, which alarmed the Dutch ſo much, as he had hitherto been their friend, that they ſent ambaſſadors to England to renew their treaties of alliance and of commerce with the queen. But inſtead of favouring them, upon this occaſion, as he had done upon the former, when he thought the earl of Leiceſter in the wrong, he propoſed a new treaty, more advantageous for England, to which the Dutch readily acceded; and lord Burleigh being at this time very ill, and on the verge of the grave, he managed the whole buſineſs; and beſides other advantages, he eaſed the queen of an annual ſtipend of 120,000*l.* which had been paid to the ſtates for many years, to enable them to ſupport their independency, after they ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke. The death of lord Burleigh followed cloſe upon this event, and the proper reward for the eminent ſervices lord Buckhurſt had performed, was the office of lord high treaſurer, to which he ſucceeded the ſame year; and from this time, he may be conſidered as prime miniſter of England, having almoſt the ſole management of public affairs, at the cloſe of this, and for the firſt four years of the following reign.

As

As queen Elizabeth's health began to decline, he was very conſtant and accurate in his correſpondence with James, which recommended him parcularly to the favour of that monarch, who was well appriſed that lord Buckhurſt had taken every meaſure to ſecure his peaceable acceſſion. In return for his aſſiduity, king James granted him a new patent to hold the office of lord treaſurer for life, and created him earl of Dorſet, in the year 1604: he was likewiſe appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of earl-marſhal of England. And in theſe high ſtations, he had the happineſs to enjoy the public eſteem, for he made uſe of his abilities to promote the welfare of his country, and was a firm ſupporter of the proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad. The laſt ſervice he performed in this reſpect, was in the negociation for a peace between Spain and Holland; he ſecretly encouraged the Dutch to inſiſt upon an acknowledgement of their independency, by the court of Spain, as an indiſpenſable article in the treaty; and he promoted the mediation of England and France with Spain, in their favour, by which means this great point was accompliſhed, but he did not live to ſee it ratified; for he died ſuddenly at the council-board in April 1608, and the independency of the ſtates, as acknowledged by Spain, was not proclaimed till 1609. As the court ſwarmed with needy Scotch favourites, his ſudden cataſtrophe occaſioned ſome ſlight ſuſpicions concerning the cauſe of it; but upon opening his head, his mortal diſeaſe was diſcovered to be an hydrocephalus, a kind of dropſy of the brain. He had perceived no extraordinary decay of health, till the year before his death, when he was ſo ill, and reduced ſo low, that his life was deſpaired of; and upon this occaſion, the king manifeſted his tender

regard for him, by ſending him a gold ring, ſet with diamonds, requiring him to wear it for his ſake; and wiſhing he might ſpeedily recover, and live as long as the diamonds of that ring ſhould endure. This inſtance of the king's affection, and his placing the moſt unlimited confidence in him upon all occaſions, is to be accounted for, on principles of policy. Lord Buckhurſt, and Sir Robert Cecil, held the reins of government, when Elizabeth's health began to decline; their influence in foreign ſtates, and their known attachment to the proteſtant intereſt, engaged him to court their favour at that period; and his fear of any revival of the claim of the Suffolk family, on whom the ſucceſſion of the crown had been ſettled, by the laſt will of Henry VIII. after the death of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, without iſſue; obliged him to continue his favours to them as long as they lived; but when theſe ſage counſellors were no more, the Scotch ſyſtem prevailed, James grew arbitrary, and laid the foundation of the future ruin of his whole race.

The character given of lord Buckhurſt by Sir Robert Naunton, does him great honour; he repreſents him as a ſcholar, whoſe elocution was much commended, but his writings more. As a ſtateſman, he ſpeaks highly of his abilities and his integrity; and as a courtier, he obſerves, that he ſteered clear of the factions of the times.

Mr. Walpole finiſhes the portrait of this great man, by remarking, that few firſt miniſters have left ſo fair a character. In private life, he was an affectionate huſband, a kind father, and a firm friend. Nor muſt we forget his remarkable hoſpitality, though we have no reaſon to hope it will have any effect on the preſent degenerate age. For the laſt twenty years of his life, his family conſiſted

of

of 200 perſons, moſt of whom he entertained upon motives of charity; nor was he leſs benevolent to the poor out of doors, to whom he afforded liberal relief in times of ſickneſs and ſcarcity. Beſides his poems, there are extant ſeveral of his lordſhip's letters, printed in the Cabala. Alſo a Latin letter to Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, prefixed to that author's Latin tranſlation of Balthazar Caſtilio's Courtier, from the Italian. Clerke's tranſlation was firſt printed at London in 1571, with the following title, "De Curiali ſive Aulico." The preſent noble family of the Sackvilles, derive their deſcent from our ſtateſman, as well as the title of peerage ſtill remaining in the family, but raiſed to a dukedom.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Sidney's Apology for Poetry. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England. Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian.

The

The LIFE of SIR ROBERT CECIL, EARL of SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1550, to 1612.]

THIS gentleman closes the list of those able ministers of state, who were first brought into public employment by queen Elizabeth, but whose eminent services rendered them as conspicuous, in the early part of the reign of James I. The reader will observe, that the memoirs of Sir Robert Cecil are inserted in this place, not only as they follow in the order of time, but because he was the immediate successor in office to the earl of Dorset.

He was the son of the famous lord Burleigh, and his birth is supposed to have happened in 1550; but this is not ascertained with any degree of certainty, nor is it in the least material, at this distance of time. Being deformed from his birth, the natural consequence, a feeble constitution, and sickly habit of body, rendered him unfit for scholastic exercises in early youth, he was therefore put under the care of a private tutor at home; and at the same time that he was gradually improved in different branches of human learning, he was bred a courtier, and acquired an early knowledge of state affairs, from being constantly with his father, who

who designing him for public employments under the government, took care to initiate him in the science of politics, which was to be the basis of his future fortune. But as it was the fashion of the times for every gentleman of rank and eminence in life, to be a member of one of our universities, he was sent for form's sake to St. John's-college, Cambridge, of which he was made a fellow, and obtained an honorary degree of master of arts; and the same compliment was afterwards paid to him at Oxford. The writers of his life observe, that he became a great proficient in politics early in life, and that the queen employed him in several important negociations; but the particulars are not specified, nor have we any authentic account of his appearance in a public station, till he was appointed secretary of the embassy to the earl of Derby, her Majesty's ambassador to the court of France: this happened about the year 1585; and as Mr. Cecil, at this time, must have been thirty-five years of age, it may well be imagined, that the factions which divided the streams of court favour, and the earl of Leicester's enmity to his father, impeded his promotion; otherwise, it seems strange, that the only son of so powerful, and confidential a minister as lord Burleigh, should not have been much sooner and better provided for. In 1586, upon his return from France, her Majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and he was made under-secretary of state to Sir Francis Walsingham, then labouring under a bad state of health; in this office he continued till the death of Sir Francis in 1590, when he succeeded him as principal secretary of state.

Sir Robert Cecil, as soon as he was in the possession of the seals, which gave him a seat, and considerable influence in the cabinet-council, strained every

every nerve to disgrace the earl of Essex, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his attainment of that plenitude of power, which every minister of state wishes to enjoy, from the first moment he comes into office. Sir Robert saw his father upon the verge of the grave, worn out with old age, and the fatigues of a long and active administration; and Essex, a younger man than himself, in full possession of the queen's favour. In this situation he reasoned and acted like a complete courtier, apprehensive that if his father died, while his rival was the reigning favourite, he should not succeed him as prime minister; he made use of all those base and wicked arts, which Machiavelian politicians, versed in the intrigues of court, know how to employ, to ensnare a powerful rival, and to hurry him impetuously into measures calculated to effect his ruin. The strong passions of Essex, made him an easy prey to the cool, deliberate cunning of his enemy; and it is certain, that Sir Robert Cecil's misrepresentations of the earl's dispatches from Ireland, and his aggravated accounts of his mal-administration in that kingdom, laid before the council, occasioned those sharp rebukes sent to him from the board, which hurried him into acts of desperation, with a view of removing his enemies from the queen's person, till, in the end, he broke forth into open rebellion; and then Cecil took care to bring him to the block. Indeed, Sir Robert Cecil's character is so black, with regard to his proceedings against the earl of Essex, that if he had not maintained the honour of his country, in his negociations with foreign powers, and performed many eminent services to the state, both at home and abroad in his official capacity, we should not have thought him worthy of a place in this work.

Lord

Lord Burleigh, in order to pave the way to his ſucceeding him in all his offices, reſigned to his ſon, by the queen's permiſſion, his office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, about a year before his death, and much about the ſame time, her Majeſty gave him the privy-ſeal. The following year, 1598, he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the king of France, to mediate a peace between France and Spain; and while he was abſent, his father died, whom he ſucceeded in all his offices, except that of lord-high-treaſurer, which was continued to his coadjutor lord Buckhurſt: but ſuch was his influence at court, after the death of his father, that he was abſolutely the prime miniſter, having the chief direction of public affairs, and after the fall of Eſſex, the entire confidence of the queen. But our courtier was not yet ſatisfied; and when he ſaw that his royal miſtreſs gave way to a deep melancholy, which ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy decline, he conſidered his ſituation as very precarious, unleſs he could ſecure the favour of the preſumptive heir to the crown, who, he well knew, entertained no favourable opinion of him, nor of any of the party, who had been concerned with him in the ruin of the earl of Eſſex.

Difficult as the taſk was, to bring over the king of Scotland to his intereſt, Sir Robert accompliſhed it, by entering into a ſecret correſpondence with him, unknown to the queen, or the reſt of the miniſtry. James, who expected an oppoſition to his claim of ſucceeding to the Britiſh crown, not only from the Suffolk family, but likewiſe from the faction, who wiſhed for a ſecond female adminiſtration, and plotted to raiſe the lady Arabella Stewart to the throne, readily embraced the offers of ſervice made him by Sir Robert, and made him the moſt ample promiſes of reward, if he continued ſtedfaſt

ſtedfaſt to his intereſt, and to do him juſtice he kept his word. It is to be preſumed, Cecil kept this correſpondence a profound ſecret, not revealing it even to his moſt intimate friends, till a few weeks before the queen's death, yet it is really ſurpriſing that it was never diſcovered, for the very nature of the correſpondence required the frequent paſſing and repaſſing of couriers; and if it had not been for his great preſence of mind, we are told, it muſt have come to the knowledge of the queen, by this very circumſtance: for as her Majeſty was taking the air in her coach upon Blackheath, a courier diſpatched to Sir Robert from his office in London, being informed that he was in the coach with her Majeſty, rode up to it to deliver his packet. The queen, deſiring to know from whence it came, the meſſenger replied, from Scotland, which made her more earneſt to know the contents; upon which Cecil, without heſitation, called for a knife, that he might not be ſuſpected by any delay on his part; and having cut it open, he pretended that the papers looked and ſmelt very ill, coming out of many unſavoury budgets; he therefore adviſed, that they ſhould be expoſed ſome time to the air, before the queen peruſed them; to which ſhe readily conſented, which gave him an opportunity to ſend them back to the office, to ſecrete ſuch intelligence as he did not wiſh to have revealed, and to ſubſtitute any other papers in their ſtead.

For the laſt two months of Elizabeth's life, ſhe complained bitterly of the little attention paid to her by her ſervants, who were all buſily employed in writing to Scotland; and ſhe particularly lamented, that thoſe on whom ſhe had beſtowed the greateſt favours, were the firſt to neglect her: Sir Robert Cecil and lord Buckhurſt were of this number; and a good underſtanding ſubſiſting between them,

it

it is moſt probable, that when they found the queen paſſed all hopes of recovery, they reciprocally entruſted each other with the ſecret of their Scotch correſpondence. For on the demiſe of Elizabeth, Sir Robert Cecil produced her will, read it publicly, and inſtantly proclaimed James I. Lord Buckhurſt, at the ſame time, ſet off for Scotland, to carry the glad tidings to his new ſovereign, and to ſecure the renewal of his patent of lord high treaſurer.

The king held his firſt court in England, and ſettled his council at the country-ſeat of Sir Robert Cecil, at Theobalds in Hertfordſhire, on the 3d of May, 1603; and a few days after, he made him a peer of the realm, by the title of baron of Eſſenden, in Rutlandſhire: the following year, he had ingratiated himſelf ſo thoroughly, that he was raiſed to the dignity of a viſcount, by the title of viſcount Cranbourne, in Dorſetſhire; and in 1605, he was created earl of Saliſbury, inſtalled knight of the garter, and elected chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge.

It ſeems to be the opinion of the ableſt hiſtorians of theſe times, that the new-made earl ſtood indebted for all his honours and preferments in this reign, to that time-ſerving diſpoſition ſo conſpicuous in his character, which led him to a ready compliance with all his maſter's wiſhes. And it is aſſerted, that he encouraged James to extend the royal prerogative beyond the limits preſcribed to it by the laws of the land. He is charged in particular, with having cauſed a cart-load of parliament-precedents (that ſpake the ſubjects liberty) to be burnt, and of having adviſed the ſtrange method of ſupplying the king with money, in the firſt year of his reign, by the creation of 200 baronets, each perſon paying 1000*l.* for this honour.

However,

However, it must be confessed, that he applied himself very assiduously to the duties of his office, and conducted the business of the nation in a manner that made him esteemed at home, and respected by foreign courts; and when the interest of his country appeared to be at stake, we find that he opposed the king's measures with respect to foreign affairs, though he is justly accused of having been more disposed to favour the crown than the people, in his domestic administration. Thus in the affair of the proposed alliance with Spain, by the marriage of prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. with the Infanta, lord Salisbury shewed himself to be not only an able statesman, but a zealous friend to the protestant cause, which he knew would be exposed to imminent danger in Britain, if this alliance took place; on which account, he opposed the proposition in council, and the marriage articles in the house of peers, with such firmness and strength of reasoning, that the agents from Spain, and the English Roman catholics attached to their interest, secretly plotted to take him off by assassination; but their villainous scheme being over-heard by one of his lordship's servants, he was put upon his guard, and soon after, he enforced the act of parliament made on the discovery of the gun-powder plot, offering great rewards for the detection of concealed popish priests, and for banishing popish recusants, by which means he got rid of his secret enemies. The opposition he made to the Spanish alliance, did not lessen him, however, in the esteem of his royal master, who knew the value of such a minister; and accordingly we find him in such high favour in 1606, that Christian IV. king of Denmark, being in England at this time, on a visit to James I. his Majesty accepted an invitation given to the two monarchs by the earl of Salisbury, and took

took his royal gueſt with him to the earl's ſeat at Theobald's, where they were entertained four days with great magnificence.

In 1608, lord Saliſbury attained the ſummit of his wiſhes, by ſucceeding to the office of lord high treaſurer, on the demiſe of the earl of Dorſet. And in the management of the public revenues, he found freſh opportunities of exerting his political abilities, and of acquiring great popularity; for the earl of Dorſet had encouraged the king's profuſeneſs to his Scotch favourites, on whom he laviſhed the treaſures of the nation, without ſtarting a ſingle objection, from an apprehenſion of loſing an office, which gratified his own profuſeneſs and oſtentation. But the earl of Saliſbury took the liberty to remonſtrate againſt this ſcandalous miſapplication of the public revenues; and once, when the king had given a warrant for money to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somerſet, and his firſt favourite, the lord treaſurer fell upon a ſtratagem to convince his Majeſty, that inevitable ruin muſt be the conſequence of his extravagant preſents to his courtiers. Rightly judging that James, who was come from a poor country, where there was a great ſcarcity of money, was totally ignorant of the immenſe value of the gift he had beſtowed on Sir Robert Carr, he followed the tenor of the warrant, and had the ſum ſpecified in it, told out, and piled up in ſilver upon tables, in an apartment at Saliſbury-houſe, through which the king was to paſs to dinner, Cecil having invited him for the purpoſe. When his Majeſty beheld the piles, he was thunder-ſtruck, and not conceiving where ſo much money could come from, or to whom it could belong, he directly aſked, whoſe property it was; to which lord Saliſbury replied, "Your Majeſty's, before you gave it away." Upon this, the king fell into a violent paſſion, ſwore

ſwore that he had been abuſed, for he could never mean to beſtow ſuch a prodigious quantity of ſilver on any man; and then graſping one of the piles in great raptures, he took a few handfuls, amounting to the value of about three hundred pounds, and putting them aſide, he proteſted Carr ſhould have no more: but the treaſurer, either unwilling to diſtreſs the favourite, or dreading the king's future diſpleaſure, contented himſelf with keeping back half the ſum granted in the warrant; and from this time, the king was more ſparing of his bounty, as long as lord Saliſbury lived: but after his death, he was more profuſe than ever to his Scotch courtiers; the clamours of his Engliſh ſubjects increaſed; and the exhauſted ſtate of the public finances, was conſidered as a national grievance, by the ſecond parliament in this reign, which refuſed to grant his Majeſty any ſupplies, unleſs he would promiſe to apply them ſolely to the public ſervice, and were thereupon diſſolved in 1614.

A frugal adminiſtration of the finances, was not the only ſervice rendered to his country by the earl of Saliſbury, while he was at the head of the treaſury. He patronized every ingenious invention, or uſeful diſcovery, for the benefit of trade and navigation; he encouraged the fiſheries on our coaſts by the natives, ſtrictly forbidding all foreigners that beneficial branch of trade; and he extended his attention to Ireland, which derived ſignal advantages from his political and commercial regulations; one of which was, offering rewards for the tillage of uncultivated lands.

At length, his inceſſant application to the various duties of his high ſtation, preyed upon his conſtitution, and brought on a decline, which firſt affected his lungs, and reduced him to a very weak condition; he was next attacked with a Tertian

ague,

ague, a diſorder which ſeems to have been very fatal in England at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In the ſpring of the year 1612, his phyſicians found that he had a complication of diſorders; but the moſt dangerous were the dropſy and the ſcurvy, for which they had adviſed the Bath-waters. Before he ſet out for Bath, the king made him ſeveral viſits, and expreſſed his ſenſe of his great merit, as well as his perſonal affection for the only able miniſter remaining of the laſt reign, by every token of royal favour; he parted with him in tears, and proteſted to the lords in waiting, the loſs he ſhould ſuſtain in him of the wiſeſt counſellor, and the beſt ſervant of any prince in Chriſtendom. At this time, the king had no hopes of his recovery, and therefore he ordered that no man ſhould diſturb him, by ſpeaking to him on public buſineſs; but when news was brought to court from Bath, that he was much better, his Majeſty, in teſtimony of the ſatisfaction he received from this intelligence, ſent lord Hay expreſs to Bath, to deliver a token of remembrance to him, as well as an aſſurance of the continuance of the royal favour. "The preſent was a fair diamond ſet, or rather hung ſquare, in a gold ring without a foil;" and it was delivered with this meſſage: "That the favour and affection the king bore him, was, and ſhould be ever, as the form and matter of that ring, endleſs, pure, and moſt perfect." The writers of this miniſter's life, have been very careful to preſerve this anecdote; but they have not explained the true motive of ſending this preſent, independent of the king's perſonal regard. It ſhould have been obſerved, that the foible of the earl of Saliſbury was his love of power, which he carried to ſuch exceſs, that he could not bear a rival near the throne; in this diſpoſition, though he was a ready diſcerner,

diſcerner, and in general a great rewarder of merit in others, it was only when it did not ſtand in competition with his own: his ungenerous and cruel conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh ſprung from jealouſy; and in his laſt illneſs, willing to retain his office as long as life remained, he had been continually ſending expreſſes to court, to give the king hopes of his recovery, and to prevent the mortification of having his place diſpoſed of before his deceaſe: to make him eaſy upon this head, James ſent one of the lords of the bed-chamber to him with the above preſent and meſſage; but the accounts which had been ſent to court were only flattering, and calculated to anſwer the purpoſe; for in reality Bath had done him no ſervice, and therefore he was adviſed to return to London; but he was ſo exhauſted, that he could proceed no further than Marlborough, where he died, at the houſe of his intimate friend Mr. Daniel, on the 24th of May 1612. His body being embalmed, was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordſhire, (a royal manor, which the king had given him in exchange for Theobalds) where it was interred with all that pomp and magnificence, which in thoſe days was conſidered as an eſſential part of the etiquette of rank and high ſtations in life; and a ſuperb monument was erected ſome time after to his memory, in the church of Hatfield.

The earl of Saliſbury left only one ſon, named William (in compliment to his illuſtrious grandfather) who ſucceeded him in honours and eſtate; and from whom the preſent families, enjoying the titles of earl of Saliſbury and earl of Exeter, are deſcended. Theſe titles were at firſt united in Sir Robert Cecil's patent, but they were afterwards ſeparated, and there are now two branches of this noble family, inheritors of the peerage.

*** *Authorities.*

*** *Authorities.* Wilson's Life of James I. edit. 1653. Weldon's Court and Character of James I. Hume's History of England. Biog. Brit. Collins's Peerage.

The LIFE of

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

[A. D. 1552, to 1618.]

THIS illustrious ornament of his country, who united in his character the hero, the patriot, the privy-counsellor, and the man of letters, was the son of Walter Raleigh, or Ralegh, Esq; a descendant of an ancient and respectable family in Devonshire. His mother was the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, Esq; of Compton in Devonshire, when she became the third wife of our patriot's father, to whom she bore two sons, Carew and Walter; the latter, whose eminent services to his country have immortalized his name, was born at Budley in Devonshire, in 1552; and at fourteen years of age, was sent to finish his education at the university of Oxford, where he became a gentleman commoner of Oriel-college. Here he distinguished himself by the strength and vivacity of his genius, and by his close application to his studies; notwithstanding which, a disposition for more active scenes of life frequently discovered itself in his conversation;

tion; and his father finding, that the thirſt of fame was his ruling paſſion, reſolved to place him in the road to it, by introducing him into the military ſervice; he therefore remained only three years at Oxford, and in 1569, being then only ſeventeen years old, he was one of the troop of an hundred gentlemen volunteers, whom queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champernon to tranſport into France for the ſervice of the proteſtant princes. Mr. Raleigh had here a good opportunity of acquiring experience in the art of war, of improving himſelf in the knowledge of the modern languages, and of acquiring all the accompliſhments of a gentleman; he did not return till the end of the year 1575, having ſpent ſix years in France.

The activity of his temper did not ſuffer him to reſt long at home, for in 1578, he went into the ſervice of the prince of Orange, againſt the Spaniards.

Soon after this, he had an opportunity of trying his fortune at ſea; his half-brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, having obtained a patent to plant and ſettle ſome northern parts of America, not claimed by any nation in alliance with the queen of England, Mr. Raleigh engaged with a conſiderable number of gentlemen in an expedition to Newfoundland; but this proved unſucceſsful, for diviſions ariſing among the volunteers, Sir Humphry, the general, was, in 1579, obliged to ſet ſail with only a few of his friends; and, after various misfortunes at ſea, returned with the loſs of one of his ſhips in an engagement with the Spaniards, in which Mr. Raleigh was expoſed to great danger.

The next year, 1580, upon the deſcent of the Spaniſh and Italian forces into Ireland, under the pope's banner, for the ſupport of the Deſmonds in rebellion in the province of Munſter, he obtained a captain's

captain's commiſſion; where, under the command of Thomas earl of Ormond, governor of Munſter, he ſurpriſed the Iriſh Kerns at Rakele, and having incloſed them, took every rebel upon the ſpot; among them was one loaded with withes, who being aſked, What he intended to have done with them? rudely anſwered, To have hung up the Engliſh churls; upon which captain Raleigh ſaid, they ſhould now ſerve for an Iriſh Kern, and ordered him to be hanged immediately. He aſſiſted likewiſe at the ſiege of Fort Del Ore, which the Spaniſh ſuccours under San Joſepho their commander, aſſiſted by their Iriſh confederates, had built and fortified as a place of retreat. The lord-deputy himſelf beſieged this fort by land, Sir William Winter, the admiral, attacked it by ſea, and captain Raleigh commanded in the trenches; it was, however, obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, on the 9th of November 1580; when, by order of the lord-deputy, the greateſt part of the garriſon were put to the ſword, the execution of which fell to the ſhare of the captains Raleigh and Mackworth, who firſt entered the caſtle.

During the winter of this year, captain Raleigh had his quarters aſſigned him at Cork; when obſerving the ſeditious practices of David lord Barry, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in thoſe parts, to diſtreſs the peaceable, and to excite the diſaffected to an inſurrection, he took a journey to Dublin, and remonſtrated to the lord-deputy on the dangerous conſequences of theſe practices, in ſo ſtrong a manner, that his lordſhip gave him full commiſſion to ſeize the lands of lord Barry, and to reduce him to peace and ſubjection, by ſuch means as he ſhould think proper; for which purpoſe, he was furniſhed with a party of horſe: but during this interval, that lord himſelf burnt the caſtle to

the ground, though it was his principal ſeat, and laid waſte the country round it with greater outrage and deſtruction, than even the zeal of his enemies would have extended to.

Captain Raleigh, in his return to Cork, was attacked by Fitz-Edmonds, an old rebel of Barry's faction, at a fort between Youghal and Cork; he was inferior to Fitz-Edmonds in number, yet he forced his way through the enemy, and got over the river; but a gentleman of his company being by ſome accident thrown in the middle, between the fear of drowning and being taken, called out to the captain for help; who, though he had eſcaped both dangers, yet ventured into them again to reſcue his companion, who in the haſte and confuſion of remounting, over-leaped his horſe, and fell down on the other ſide into a deep mire, where he muſt have been ſuffocated, if the humane Raleigh had not recovered him a ſecond time, and brought him to land. He now waited on the oppoſite bank, with a ſtaff in one hand and a piſtol in the other, for the reſt of his company who were yet to croſs the river; but though Fitz-Edmonds had got a recruit of twelve men, yet finding captain Raleigh ſtand his ground, he only exchanged a few rough words with him, and retired.

In 1581, the earl of Ormond going to England, his government of Munſter was given to captain Raleigh, in commiſſion with Sir William Morgan and captain Peers. Raleigh reſided for ſome time at Liſmore; but afterwards, returning with his little band of eighty foot and eight horſe, to his old quarters at Cork, he received intelligence that Barry was at Cove with ſeveral hundred men: upon which he reſolved to paſs through that town, and offer him combat; and accordingly, at the town's-end, he met Barry with his forces, whom he charged with

with prodigious bravery, and put to flight: as he purſued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain by a wood ſide, whom he likewiſe attacked, though he had only ſix horſemen with him, expecting probably that his company would ſoon join him. But the rebels, who had greatly the advantage of numbers, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very deſperately, killing five of the horſes belonging to Raleigh's company, and amongſt theſe his own; and he was in extreme danger himſelf of being over-powered by numbers, if his ſervant Nicholas Wright had not interpoſed; who perceiving his maſter's horſe mortally wounded with darts, encountered ſix of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while Patrick Fagaw, one of his ſoldiers, reſcued Raleigh, after it had been unſucceſsfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard, who was then over-powered by the enemy; which Raleigh ſeeing, he would not ſuffer Wright to fight by him any longer; but ordered him to aſſiſt Fitz-Richard, which he immediately did, by ruſhing into the throng of the enemy, and diſpatching him who preſſed upon Fitz-Richard, he reſcued the latter from the moſt imminent danger. In this ſharp ſkirmiſh many of the rebels periſhed, and two were carried priſoners to Cork, where Raleigh performed ſeveral other ſignal ſervices, for which he received a grant from the crown of a large eſtate in England. But a miſunderſtanding between Raleigh and lord Grey, the lord-deputy of Ireland, prevented his riſing in the army; and therefore, when the rebels were reduced, he followed lord Grey to England, where purſuing his diſputes with that nobleman, the ſubject of their conteſt, which was kept a profound ſecret, was heard before the privy-council; and though particulars did not tranſpire,

ſpire, it is on record, that Raleigh defended his cauſe with ſo much eloquence and ability, that it greatly recommended him, and ſerved, with his other accompliſhments, to introduce him to the notice of the court.

But Raleigh, not content with the ſmiles of courtiers, was very attentive to gain the royal favour; and an opportunity ſoon offered, which ſhewed that gallantry was not the leaſt of the neceſſary qualifications he poſſeſſed for puſhing his fortune at court. "The queen taking the air, in a walk, ſtopped at a plaſhy place, in doubt whether to go on; when Raleigh, dreſſed in a gay and genteel habit of the times, immediately caſt off, and ſpread his new pluſh-cloak on the ground; on which her Majeſty, gently treading, was conducted over clean and dry. This adventure, joined to a handſome perſon, a polite addreſs, and ready wit, could not fail to recommend him to a female ſovereign; accordingly, coming to court ſoon after, and meeting with a reception which ſeemed to favour his ambition, he took an opportunity of writing with a diamond upon a window, in a conſpicuous manner, the follow line—

"Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall,"

which the queen elegantly turned to a couplet, which contained a hint, that if he did not riſe, it would be his own fault.

"If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all."

After ſuch a poetic challenge, it is no wonder Raleigh made ſuch a rapid progreſs in her Majeſty's favour, a proper introduction being all he wanted, his merit inſuring future ſucceſs.

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In 1582, he was one of thoſe perſons of diſtinction, who by the queen's command accompanied the duke of Anjou to the Netherlands; and, on his return, he brought letters from the prince of Orange to her Majeſty. In 1583, he engaged in a ſecond expedition with his brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, to Newfoundland; but having been two or three days at ſea, a contagious diſtemper ſeized his whole crew, and he was obliged to return to port; however, by this accident, he eſcaped the misfortunes of that expedition, in which Sir Humphry, after having taken poſſeſſion of Newfoundland in right of the crown of England, in his return home, unfortunately periſhed: but ill-ſucceſs could not divert Raleigh from a ſcheme, which he thought was of ſuch importance to his country; he therefore drew up an account of its advantages, and laid it before the queen and council, who were ſo well ſatisfied with it, that her Majeſty granted him letters patent in favour of his project; 'containing free liberty to diſcover ſuch remote heatheniſh and barbarous lands, as were not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian, or inhabited by Chriſtian people.'

Immediately upon this grant, captain Raleigh fitted out two veſſels, which reached the gulph of Florida the beginning of July: they ſailed along the ſhore about one hundred and twenty miles, and at laſt debarked, on a low land, which proved to be an iſland called Wokoken. After taking a formal poſſeſſion of this country in the name of the queen, he carried on a friendly correſpondence with the natives, who ſupplied them with proviſions, and gave them furs and deer-ſkins in exchange for trifles; thus encouraged, eight of their crew went twenty miles up the river Occam, and next day came to an iſland called Roanok, the reſidence of

the Indian chief, whose house was built of cedar, and fortified round with sharp pieces of timber. His wife came out to them, and ordered her people to carry them from the boat on their backs, and shewed them many civilities to express her friendly intentions towards them, in the absence of her husband. After having gained the best information they could of the strength of the Indian nations, and of their connections, alliances, and contests with each other, they returned to England, and made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil, and healthfulness of the climate, that the queen favoured the design of settling a colony in that country, to which she gave the name of Virginia.

About two months after captain Raleigh's return, in 1584, he was chosen knight of the shire for his native county of Devon; and the same year, the queen, who was extremely cautious and frugal in bestowing of honours, as a distinguishing token of her favour conferred on him that of knighthood; her Majesty, at the same time, granted him a patent to licence the vending of wines by retail throughout the kingdom; which was, in all probability, a very lucrative one. And this is the origin of wine-licences.

Sir Walter was so intent upon planting his new colony in Virginia, that, in 1585, he sent out a fleet of seven sail, under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, a gentleman who acquired the highest degree of reputation, both in the land and sea-service, and died in the bed of honour, of a wound received on board his ship, in an engagement with the Spaniards in 1591. Sir Richard, upon his landing, sent a deputation to the king of the Indians, whose name was Wingina, and who resided at Roanok, requesting permission to establish a friendly

a friendly intercourſe with the inhabitants, and to viſit the country; which being granted, he went with a ſelect company to view ſeveral Indian towns, and was civilly treated; but at one of them, an accident happened, which greatly diſconcerted his plan. An Indian ſtole a ſilver cup, which Sir Richard's people reſented by ſetting fire to the town, and deſtroying the corn in the fields: for this raſh action, the Indian king threatened to fall upon the Engliſh with their whole force; but by a timely ſubmiſſion and ſome preſents, the affair was terminated amicably; and Sir Richard, after leaving one hundred and ſeven perſons to ſettle the colony of Virginia, ſet ſail for England; and, on his paſſage, he took a Spaniſh prize, eſtimated at 50,000*l.*

This was not the only circumſtance of good fortune which happened to Sir Walter this year; the rebellion in Ireland being now totally ſuppreſſed, her Majeſty granted him twelve thouſand acres of the forfeited lands; and this great eſtate he planted at his own expence.

Sir Walter, encouraged by this noble grant, fitted out a third fleet for Virginia; where the colony, having ſuffered great diſtreſſes, had procured a paſſage to England by Sir Francis Drake, who had viſited it in his return from his conqueſt of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Auguſtine. Raleigh, in the ſpring of the year, had ſent a ſhip of one hundred tons to the ſuccour of his new colony; but not arriving before the people had left it, ſhe returned with all her lading to England.

About fifteen days after, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three ſhips more, well ſtored, for the company of planters which he had left there in 1585; but, finding neither them, nor the laſt-mentioned ſhip, Sir Richard, unwilling to

loſe the poſſeſſion of ſo fine a country, landed fifteen men on the iſland of Roanok, leaving them proviſion for two years, then ſet ſail for England, and, in his return, took ſome Spaniſh prizes.

About this time, Sir Walter Raleigh was concerned in other plans, for the improvement of the navigation and commerce of his country; particularly, in captain Davis's expedition, for diſcovering the North-weſt paſſage; on which account, a promontary in Davis's Streights is called MOUNT RALEIGH. To indemnify him in ſome meaſure, for the expence of theſe patriotic undertakings, the queen gave him additional grants of land, and further emoluments on his wine-licences.

The latter end of the year 1586, her Majeſty made him ſeneſchal of the dutchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the ſtannaries in Devonſhire and Cornwall; but theſe preferments expoſed him to the envy of thoſe who were much his inferiors in merit; and even the earl of Leiceſter, who had once been his friend, grew jealous of him, and ſet up, in oppoſition to him, his nephew, the young earl of Eſſex; but neither the factions of the court, nor the aſperſions of the people, whom Raleigh could never condeſcend to flatter, could deter him from attending to the duties of his ſeveral employments.

In the year 1587, Sir Walter prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men for Virginia; appointing Mr. John White governor, and with him twelve aſſiſtants; and incorporated them by the name of the governor and aſſiſtants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

On their arrival at Hattaraſs, the governor diſpatched a ſtrong party to Roanok, expecting to find the fifteen men that were left there; but they ſought them in vain. They afterwards found that

ſeveral

feveral of them had been murdered by the favages, and the reft driven to a remote part of the country. This new colony having entered into an alliance with the natives, conſidered that they ſhould want freſh ſupplies of proviſions; and, wanting an agent to go to England, prevailed on their governor to undertake that office, who returned with his ſhips in the latter end of the year.

Sir Walter, ſolicitous for the ſafety of the colony, prepared a fleet to aſſiſt them; but the apprehenſions of an invaſion from Spain, in 1588, prevented their ſailing; ſo that governor White could only obtain two ſmall pinnaces, which had the misfortune to be ſo thoroughly rifled by the enemy, that they were obliged to return back without performing the voyage, to the diſtreſs of the planters abroad, and the great regret of their patron at home.

About this time, Sir Walter was advanced to the poſt of captain of her Majeſty's guard, and was one of the council of war appointed to conſider of the moſt effectual methods for the ſecurity of the nation; upon which occaſion he drew up a ſcheme which was a proof of his judgment and abilities. But he did not confine himſelf to the mere office of giving advice; he raiſed and diſciplined the militia of Cornwall; and, having performed all poſſible ſervices at land, joined the fleet with a ſquadron of volunteers, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the total defeat of the Spaniſh Armada; when his merit, upon ſo important a criſis, juſtly raiſed him ſtill higher in the queen's favour, who now made him gentleman of her privy-chamber.

In 1589, Don Antonio, king of Portugal, being expelled from his dominions by Philip II. of Spain, queen Elizabeth contributed ſix men of war, and threeſcore thouſand pounds, in order to reinſtate

him, and encouraged her subjects to concur in that design. Sir Walter Raleigh, with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, accompanied that prince to Portugal; and, in this expedition, took a great number of hulks belonging to the Hanstowns, laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition, for a new invasion of England: and his conduct in the whole affair was so satisfactory to her Majesty, that she honoured him, as well as the other commanders, with a gold chain.

Raleigh had now formed a design against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, in order to intercept the Plate-fleet, and fitted out a maritime force for that purpose, consisting of thirteen ships of his own and fellow-adventurers; to which the queen added two men of war, the Garland and Foresight, giving him a commission as general of the fleet, the post of lieutenant-general being conferred on Sir John Burgh.

He set sail in February, 1592; but the winds proved so contrary, that he could not leave the coast of England till the 6th of May; and the next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed and overtook him with the queen's letters to recall him; but, imagining his honour engaged in the undertaking, he pursued his course, though he was informed that the king of Spain had ordered that no ships should sail that year, nor any treasure be brought from the West-Indies. However, on the 11th of May, meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, he divided his fleet into two squadrons, committing one to Sir John Burgh, and the other to Sir Martin Frobisher, with orders to the latter, to lie off the South-cape, to keep in and terrify the Spaniards on their coasts, while the former lay at the Azores for the caracs from the East-Indies; and then returned home.

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The ſucceſs of theſe directions was anſwerable to the excellent judgment that formed them; for the Spaniſh admiral, collecting his whole naval power to watch Frobiſher, left the caracs unguarded, and the Madre de Dios, then eſteemed the richeſt prize ever brought to England, was ſeized by Sir John Burgh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies, envious of his prevailing influence over the queen, employed every means to work his diſgrace. Tarleton, a comedian, was encouraged by Eſſex and his party, to introduce into his part in a play, at which the queen was preſent, an alluſion to Sir Walter, comparing him to the knave, which in certain games at cards, "governs the queen;" her Majeſty, however, was highly diſpleaſed, and forbad Tarleton, and all her jeſters, to approach her table. In the next place, as his religious tenets were not ſtrictly orthodox, and he had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the clergy by his being in poſſeſſion of ſome church-lands, granted to him by the queen; a libel was publiſhed againſt him at Lyons, by one Parſons, a jeſuit, aſperſing him with being an Atheiſt, on account of his tract, intitled, "The School of Atheiſts;" in which Sir Walter only attacks the old ſchool divinity. But the queen was made to believe it was an impious performance, which reflected diſhonour on her father's memory; upon which ſhe chided him ſeverely, and he was ever after branded with the title of Atheiſt.

Soon after, another incident had well nigh ruined him for ever, in the queen's eſteem, having ſeduced the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour; and the natural conſequence of the amour diſcovering the intrigue, her Majeſty ordered him to be confined for ſeveral months, and diſmiſſed the lady from her attendance;

tendance; to whom he afterwards made the moſt honourable reparation he could, by marriage; in which ſtate they became examples of conjugal affection and fidelity.

While Sir Walter Raleigh was under her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, he projected the diſcovery of the extenſive empire of Guiana, in South-America, which the Spaniards had then only viſited, and to this day have never conquered. Sir Walter having provided a ſquadron of ſhips, at a very great expence, the lord high-admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, conceived ſo good an opinion of the deſign, that they both concurred in it.

He ſet ſail on the 6th of February, 1595, and arrived at the iſle of Trinidado on the 22d of March; where he made himſelf maſter of St. Joſeph, a ſmall city, and made the Spaniſh governor priſoner. Then, quitting his ſhip, he, with an hundred men, in ſeveral little barks, ſailed four hundred miles up the river Oronoque, in ſearch of Guiana; but the heat of the weather, and the torrents, obliged him to return; which he did the latter end of the ſummer.

The following year, he was ſo far reſtored to favour, that he was engaged in the important expedition to Cadiz; wherein the earl of Eſſex, and the lord high-admiral Howard, were joint commanders. On the 20th of June they arrived before Cadiz. The lord high-admiral was of opinion, that the land-forces ſhould attack the town firſt, that the fleet might not be expoſed to the fire of the ſhips, of the city, and of the adjacent forts; and the council of war concurred in this opinion: but, as the earl of Eſſex was putting his men into boats, in order to land them, Sir Walter, not happening to have been preſent at the council of war, went directly to the earl, and offered ſuch convincing reaſons againſt it,

and

and for their firſt falling upon the galleons, and ſhips in the harbour, that the earl ſaw the neceſſity of altering his ſcheme, and deſired Sir Walter to diſſuade the admiral from that of landing. He did ſo; the admiral was convinced; and, by Sir Walter's advice, deferred the attack till the next day.

For the particulars of this attack, in which Sir Walter Raleigh diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and his prudence, and which was attended with ſuch wonderful ſucceſs, we muſt refer our readers to Dr. Birch's account of it. It is ſufficient in this place to mention, that the city was taken and plundered; many of the principal ſhips belonging to the Spaniards were run aſhore; and the galleons, with all their treaſure, were burnt by the enemy, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

Sir Walter continued in a ſtate of perſonal baniſhment from the queen's preſence till 1597, and then was intirely reſtored to favour, and performed ſeveral other ſignal ſervices. In 1601, he attended the queen in her progreſs: and in the laſt parliament of this reign, he ſignalized himſelf, by oppoſing ſome bills brought in to oppreſs the lower claſſes of the people: but the death of this princeſs proved a great misfortune to Sir Walter; for her ſucceſſor king James I. had been greatly prejudiced againſt him by the earl of Eſſex; yet he did not diſcover his diſguſt for ſome time, but treated him with great kindneſs: however, his Majeſty's pacific genius could not reliſh a man of ſo martial a ſpirit. He had not been long upon the throne before Sir Walter was diſmiſſed from his poſt of captain of the guards; and, ſoon after, was charged with being engaged in a plot againſt the king, and with carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with the king of

of Spain; but no clear evidence was produced of his having been engaged in any treasonable act whatever, though he was brought in guilty, and condemned for high treason.

The trial was carried on with the usual rancour by the crown-lawyers, who have generally made treason, where none was to be found, whenever a state-prisoner has rendered himself so obnoxious to the sovereign, that his death has been before determined in the cabinet-council.

To the eternal disgrace of his memory, that able lawyer, and celebrated law-writer Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, made use of the grossest abuse, in opening the false accusation against our renowned patriot. He stigmatized the great Sir Walter Raleigh with the opprobrious titles of "Traitor, Monster, Viper, and Spider of Hell."

But the true cause of this shameful court-conspiracy against Sir Walter was, the very active part he had taken against the Scotch interest. Apprehensive that his country would be over-run by Scotchmen, and that all the posts of honour and emolument would be engrossed by them, to the exclusion of Englishmen, he had proposed in council, a short time before the death of queen Elizabeth, that the king of the Scots should be tied down by the strongest contract that could be drawn up, to bring into England only a limited number of his countrymen, upon his accession to the British throne. This proposition was over-ruled, but it was never forgiven by James, and his Scotch minions. And it must be confessed, that Sir Walter did not endeavour to abate their malice by temporizing; on the contrary, when he found that his prophetic fears were realized, and none but Scotchmen countenanced at court, he boldly exclaimed against this partiality in their favour; and thus he wrought his own disgrace.

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But even thus circumſtanced, the crafty Scots could not have completed his ruin, if there had not been found two degenerate Engliſhmen, baſe enough to forward their deſigns upon the life of this great man: theſe were, Sir Robert Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, induced to it by motives of jealouſy; for he knew that Raleigh's political talents might one day or other render his ſervices ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the king and to the nation, that he muſt be brought into adminiſtration, and ſupplant him. As to Coke, the attorney-general, he appears to have been Sir Walter's enemy by profeſſion, and to have conſidered the blackening his character, as a recommendation to the firſt vacancy upon the bench. Yet, after ſentence was paſſed, the cowardly court durſt not proceed to execution; ſo great was the love and veneration of the people for the hero of his country; and therefore he was reprieved at Wincheſter, where he was tried; and remanded to the Tower, where not long after his confinement, upon the unwearied ſolicitations of his lady, who petitioned the king that ſhe might be priſoner with him, he was allowed the conſolation of her company, and his younger ſon Carew was born there in 1604.

The king ſoon after granted him his forfeited eſtate, for the benefit of his wife and children; but this was only for his own life, for he had, on his reſolving to accept of a challenge from Sir Amias Preſton ſome years before, made it over to his eldeſt ſon; who, notwithſtanding, derived no benefit from the reverſion; for Robert Car, the king's new favourite, having no real eſtate belonging to his own obſcure family, caſt his eyes upon the lands of Raleigh; and by the aſſiſtance of his friend Coke, the attorney-general, he ſoon diſcovered a flaw in the conveyance; upon which, an information being

ing exhibited in the exchequer, judgment was given for the crown, the grant to Sir Walter for life was made void, and Sherborne, and other of his eſtates, were given to Car in 1609, the king being inflexible to all the petitions of the lady Raleigh, on behalf of herſelf and her children.

Sir Walter Raleigh ſoftened the rigours of his long confinement, by an application to various kinds of ſtudies, particularly in writing his well-known and admired Hiſtory of the World; he alſo amuſed himſelf in practical chemiſtry, making many uſeful experiments; the reſult of which was, a diſcovery of an excellent remedy for malignant fevers, long known under the name of Raleigh's Cordial, but now totally laid aſide, from doubts concerning the authenticity of the recipe for compoſing it.

But, though he had the queen's protection, and prince Henry for his patron, during the height of the earl of Somerſet's favour, yet he could not obtain his liberty till after the condemnation of that favourite, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. at length, by means of fifteen hundred pounds given to a relation of the new favourite Sir George Villiers, he procured his liberty, in March 1616, after above twelve years confinement in the Tower.

Sir Walter being now at large, had an opportunity of proſecuting his old ſcheme of ſettling Guiana, and his Majeſty granted him a patent for that purpoſe, at leaſt under the privy-ſeal, if not under the great-ſeal of England; which Sir Francis Bacon, on being applied to, aſſured him implied a pardon for all that was paſſed, as the king had made him admiral of his fleet, and given him the power of martial law over his officers and ſoldiers.

The whole expence of this expedition was defrayed by Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends. In their paſſage, they met with various diſappointments;

ments; however, in November, they came in sight of Guiana, and anchored five degrees off the river Caliana.

Here Raleigh was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who offered him the sovereignty of the country, which he declined. His extreme sickness preventing his attempting the discovery of the mines in person, he deputed captain Keymis to that service, ordering five ships to sail into the river Oronoque; but, three weeks after, landing by night nearer a Spanish town than they expected, they were set upon by the Spanish troops, who were prepared for their reception.

This unexpected attack soon threw them into confusion; and, had not some of the leaders animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces: but the others, by their example, soon rallying, they made such a vigorous opposition, that they forced the Spaniards to retreat.

In the warmth of the pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed, and they were assaulted by the governor himself, and four or five captains, at the head of their companies, when captain Raleigh, the eldest son of Sir Walter, hurried on by the heat and impatience of youth, not waiting for the musketeers, rushed forward, at the head of a company of pikes, and, having killed one of the Spanish captains, was shot by another; but, pressing still forward with his sword, upon the captain who had shot him, the Spaniard, with the butt-end of his musket, felled him to the ground, and put an end to his life; when his serjeant immediately thrust the Spanish captain through the body with his halbert. Two other captains, and the governor himself, fell in this engagement.

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The Spaniſh leaders being all thus diſpatched, the private men fled; ſome took ſhelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the Engliſh at pleaſure; ſo that there was no way left for ſafety but by firing the town, and driving the enemy to the woods and mountains.

Captain Keymis had now an opportunity of viſiting the mine, which he attempted with captain Thornhurſt, Mr. W. Herbert, Sir John Hamden, and others; but, upon their falling into an ambuſcade, in which they loſt many of their men, they returned to Sir Walter, without diſcovering the mine, alledging the reaſon mentioned above.

As ſome mitigation of their ill ſucceſs, and as an inducement to further hopes, Keymis produced two ingots of gold, which they had found in the town, together with a large quantity of papers found in the governor's ſtudy. Among theſe were four letters, which diſcovered not only Raleigh's whole enterprize to have been betrayed, but his life hereby put into the power of the Spaniards. Theſe letters alſo diſcovered the preparations made by the Spaniards to receive Raleigh.

To the juſt indignation which he conceived upon this occaſion, was added the mortification of finding that Keymis had not proceeded to the mine. He reproached that captain with having undone him, and wounded his credit with the king paſt recovery. This affected Keymis ſo ſenſibly, that he retired to his cabbin, where he ſhot himſelf; but, finding the wound not mortal, he diſpatched himſelf with a knife, which he thruſt into his heart.

The ill ſtate of Sir Walter's health would not ſuffer him to repair Keymis's neglect. He was incapable of ſuch a voyage, and, at the ſame time, was in continual apprehenſion of being attacked by the Spaniſh Armada, ſent out on purpoſe to lay wait

wait for and deſtroy him; but the enemy miſſed him, by ſtaying in the wrong place.

To the eternal diſhonour of James I. let it be recorded, that to his ſhameful duplicity, and daſtardly fears, the honour of the nation, the ſucceſs of the expedition, the lives of many brave men, and the military reputation of Raleigh, were ſacrificed. For while he encouraged Raleigh, by granting him a ſpecial commiſſion for this enterpriſe, he not only diſavowed it by his miniſters to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, but, as a proof that he did not wiſh well to the deſign, he ſuffered them to give the ambaſſader the particulars of Raleigh's force and deſtination; which being forwarded to the court of Spain, occaſioned the vaſt preparations he found ready on his arrival, to oppoſe him. Sir Walter could not forbear reproaching the court for this infamous conduct, in a letter from St. Chriſtopher's, to the ſecretary of ſtate; and this determined the miniſtry to take him off, as the only method of extinguiſhing the hopes of the people, who wiſhed for a war with Spain.

Accordingly, on Sir Walter's return home, he found that king James had publiſhed a proclamation, declaring his deteſtation of his conduct, aſſerting that his Majeſty had, by expreſs limitation, reſtrained and forbid Raleigh, from attempting any act of hoſtility againſt his dear brother of Spain; yet it is evident, that the commiſſion contained no ſuch limitation.

This proclamation, however, did not deter Sir Walter from landing at Plymouth, in July 1618, being reſolved to ſurrender himſelf into the king's hands, to whom he wrote a letter in defence of himſelf. But he was arreſted on the road to London, by Sir Lewis Stewkeley, vice-admiral of Devonſhire, and his relation, who acted a moſt baſe

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and treacherous part, after his arrival with his prisoner at London. For, Sir Walter being allowed to remain a prisoner at his own house, Stewkeley continually informed him how greatly the court was exasperated against him, by the complaints of Gondimar the Spanish ambassador; he hinted that his life was at stake, and then countenanced, if he did not suggest the design Raleigh had now formed of making his escape to France, which he afterwards attempted; but being betrayed all along by Stewkeley, he was seized in a boat below Woolwich, and, on the 10th of August, was committed to the Tower.

But though his death had been absolutely resolved upon, yet it was not easy to find a method to compass it, since his conduct in his late expedition, could not be stretched in law to such a sentence; it was resolved therefore to sacrifice him to Spain, (in a manner that has justly exposed the court to the abhorrence of all succeeding ages) by calling him down to judgment on his former sentence, passed fifteen years before. Thus, by a strange contrariety of proceedings, he, who had been condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, now lost his life for being their enemy.

In consequence of this resolution, having the day before received notice to prepare himself for death, he was, on the 28th of October, taken out of his bed, in the hot fit of an ague, and carried to the King's-bench bar, at Westminster, where the chief-justice, Sir Henry Montague, ordered the record of his conviction and judgment in 1603, to be read; and then demanded, What he had to offer why execution should not be awarded against him? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission for his last voyage, which implied a restoring life to him, by giving him power, as marshal, on the life and death

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of others. He then began to juſtify his conduct in that voyage; but the court refuſed to hear him, and execution was inſtantly awarded; and a warrant produced for it to take place the next day; which had been ſigned and ſealed before-hand, that no delay might ariſe from the king's abſence, who retired into the country, the day before he was arraigned. And on the very next day, though it was the lord-mayor's day, being the 29th of October, 1618, Sir Walter was conducted from the priſon of the Gate-houſe (where he had been lodged over-night) by the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, to a ſcaffold erected in Old Palace-yard, Weſtminſter.

He had eat his breakfaſt heartily that morning, ſmoaked his pipe, and made no more of death than if he had been to take a journey; he aſcended the ſcaffold with a chearful countenance, and ſaluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen there preſent. After which, a proclamation was made for ſilence, and he addreſſed himſelf to the people in this manner:

"I deſire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and, if I ſhall ſhew any weakneſs, I beſeech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come."

Then pauſing a while, he ſat, and directed himſelf towards a window, where the lords of Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaſter, with ſome other lords and knights, ſat, and ſpoke as followeth:

"I thank God, of his infinite goodneſs, that he hath brought me to die in the light, and not in darkneſs." But, by reaſon that the place where the lords, &c. ſat, was ſome diſtance from the ſcaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he ſaid, "I will ſtrain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me."

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But lord Arundel ſaid, "Nay, we will rather come down to the ſcaffold;" which he and ſome others did. Where being come, he ſaluted them ſeverally, and then continued his ſpeech.

"As I ſaid, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die; and, that he hath not ſuffered me to die in the dark priſon of the Tower, where I have ſuffered a great deal of miſery and cruel ſickneſs; and, I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not. There are two main points of ſuſpicion that his Majeſty, as I hear, hath conceived againſt me; wherein his Majeſty cannot be ſatisfied, which I deſire to clear up, and to reſolve your lordſhips of:

"One is, That his Majeſty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with France; and his Majeſty hath good reaſon to induce him thereunto. One reaſon that his Majeſty had to conjecture ſo, was, that, when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochelle; which was, for that I would have made my peace before I had come to England.

"Another reaſon was, That, upon my flight, I did intend to fly into France, for the ſaving of myſelf, having had ſome terror from above.

"A third reaſon, that his Majeſty had reaſon to ſuſpect, was, The French agent's coming to me. Beſides, it was reported, that I had a commiſſion from the French king at my going forth. Theſe are the reaſons that his Majeſty had, as I am informed, to ſuſpect me.

"But this I ſay, for a man to call God to witneſs to a falſhood at the hour of death, is far more grievous and impious; and that a man that ſo doth cannot have ſalvation, for he hath no time for

for repentance. Then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king, nor ever saw the French king's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that there was a French agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery, at my lodging, unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom.

"The second suspicion was, That his Majesty had been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my sovereign; but my accuser was a base Frenchman, and a runnagate fellow; one that hath no dwelling; a kind of chymical fellow; one that I knew to be perfidious: so, being by him drawn into the action of accusing myself at Wincheſter, in which I confess my head was touched, he, being sworn to secrecy over-night, revealed it the next morning.

"But this I speak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them; I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand; therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last judgment-day, I never spoke disloyally, or dishonestly, of his Majesty in all my life; and therefore I cannot but think it strange that that Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved; and I hope I shall be believed. I confess I did attempt to escape; I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life. And I do likewise confess, that I did feign myself to be ill-

disposed

diſpoſed and ſick at Saliſbury; but I hope it was no ſin, for the prophet David did make himſelf a fool, and ſuffered ſpittle to fall down upon his beard, to eſcape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him: ſo, what I did, I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time until his Majeſty came, hoping for ſome commiſeration from him. But I forgive this French-man, and Sir Lewis Stewkeley, with all my heart; for I have received the ſacrament this morning of Mr. dean of Weſtminſter, and I have forgiven all men; but, that they are perfidious, I am bound in charity to ſpeak, that all men may take heed of them.

"Sir Lewis Stewkeley, my keeper and kinſman, hath affirmed that I ſhould tell him, that my lord Carew, and my lord of Doncaſter here, did adviſe me to eſcape; but I proteſt, before God, I never told him any ſuch thing; neither did the lords adviſe me to any ſuch matter; neither is it likely that I ſhould tell him any ſuch thing of two privy-counſellors; neither had I any reaſon to tell him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I liſted, whilſt he rode himſelf about the country.

"He further accuſed me, that I ſhould ſhew him a letter, whereby I did ſignify unto him, that I would give him ten thouſand pounds for my eſcape; but God caſt my ſoul into everlaſting fire, if I made any ſuch proffer of ten thouſand pounds, or one thouſand; but, indeed, I ſhewed him a letter, that, if he would go with me, there ſhould be order taken for his debts when he was gone; neither had I ten thouſand pounds to give him; for, if I had had ſo much, I could have made my peace with it better another way, than in giving it to Stewkeley.

"Further,

" Further, when I came to Sir Edward Pelham's houſe, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, that I had received ſome dram of poiſon; when I anſwered him, I feared no ſuch thing, for I was well aſſured of them in the houſe, and therefore wiſhed him to have no ſuch thought. Now God forgive him, for I do; and I deſire God to forgive him. I will not ſay, God is a God of revenge; but I deſire God to forgive him, as I do deſire to be forgiven of God."

Then looking over his note of remembrance, " Well," ſaid he, " thus far have I gone; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

" It was told the king that I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again; but Sir Charles Parker, Mr. Treſham, Mr. Leake, and divers know how I was dealt withal by the common ſoldiers, which were one hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied, and ſent for me to come into the ſhip to them, for unto me they would not come; and there I was forced to take an oath that I would not go into England till that they would have me; otherwiſe they would have caſt me into the ſea; and therewithal they drove me into my cabbin, and bent all their forces againſt me.

" Now, after I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, ſuch as I had about me, I drew ſome of the chiefeſt to deſiſt from their purpoſes; and, at length, I perſuaded them to go into Ireland; which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the north parts of Ireland; which I diſſuaded them from, and told them that they were Red-ſhanks that inhabited there; and with much ado I perſuaded them to go into the ſouth

parts of Ireland, promising them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them one hundred and twenty-five pounds at Kinsale, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

"I hear likewise there was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.

"But I protest it was my full intent, and for gold; for gold, for the benefit of his Majesty and myself, and of those that ventured and went with me, with the rest of my countrymen; but he that knew the head of the mine, would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made away with himself."

Then turning to the earl of Arundel, he said, "My lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said, You would request one thing of me; which was, That, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail but to return again into England; which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would; and so I have." To which my lord answered, "It is true, I do very well remember it, they were the very last words I spake unto you."

"Another slander was raised of me, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guiana. But there was a great many worthy men that accompanied me always; as my serjeant-major, George Raleigh, and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

"Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands. As I shall answer it before

God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly, or indirectly, above a hundred pounds; whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds; but the error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the scrivener's books, where they found the bills of adventure arising to a great sum, so raised that false report.

"I will only borrow a little time of Mr. sheriff to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me; for, it is said, that I should be a persecutor of the death of the earl of Essex; and, that I stood in a window over-against him, when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered, for I was afar off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

"I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction, but I knew my lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone, for I got the hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him, afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies; and my soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his death to have been reconciled unto me. And these be the material points I thought good to speak of; and I am now, at this instant, to render up an account to God; and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true; and I hope I shall be believed."

Our illustrious patriot concluded with desiring the astonished spectators to join with him in prayer

to God, "whom," said he, "I have most grievously offended, being a man full of vanity, who has lived a sinful life, in such callings as have been most inducing to it. For I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier; which are all courses of wickedness and vice."

Then proclamation being made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death; giving away his hat, his cap, and some money, to such as he knew, who stood near him. He next took leave of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance; and, amongst the rest, lord Arundel, whom he thanked for his company, and entreated him to desire the king, that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death; adding, "I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave."

Then putting off his doublet and gown, he desired the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being done readily, he said, "I pr'ythee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?" So it being given unto him, he felt along upon the edge of it; and, smiling, spake unto Mr. sheriff, saying, "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician that will cure all diseases." After which, going to and fro upon the scaffold on every side, he entreated the company to pray to God to give him strength.

The executioner kneeling down, asked him forgiveness; and he, laying his hand upon his shoulder, forgave him.

Then being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he made answer, and said, "So the heart be strait, it is no matter which way the head lieth." After this, laying his head on the block, on a signal given him by Sir Walter, the executioner

executioner beheaded him at two blows, his body never ſhrinking nor moving. His head was ſhewn on each ſide of the ſcaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and his velvet knight-gown being thrown over it, it was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his lady's.

His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, Weſtminſter; but his head was preſerved in a caſe by his widow, who ſurvived him twenty-nine years.

Thus fell the brave Sir Walter Raleigh, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, a ſacrifice to a contemptible adminiſtration, and the reſentment of a mean prince: a man of an extenſive genius, capable of vaſt enterpriſes, and from his earlieſt appearance in public life, to the laſt ſtage of it, a firm and active patriot. His character was a combination of almoſt every eminent quality: he was the ſoldier, ſtateſman, and ſcholar, united; and, had he lived with the heroes of antiquity, he would have made a juſt parallel to Cæſar and Xenophon, like them being maſter of the ſword and the pen. So that he was enabled, as a poet beautifully expreſſes it, to enrich the world with his priſon-hours.

Sir Walter Raleigh is conſidered in a reſpectable light as an hiſtorian; his Hiſtory of the World being to this day held in the higheſt repute, by the ableſt critics. It was firſt publiſhed in 1614, in folio, and a ſecond edition was printed in 1617; which circumſtance alone is ſufficient to refute the idle ſtory of his having written a ſecond part, which he threw into the fire upon the bookſeller's telling him, the hiſtory, now extant, had ſold ſo ſlowly, that it had undone him. The true reaſon, why the ſecond and third parts, which he mentions himſelf, as intended to be compoſed, were not executed,

was, his want of leiſure, after he undertook his great political and commercial enterpriſes. The beſt edition of this capital work of our author, is that publiſhed by Mr. Oldys in 1736, in two vol. folio.

Sir Walter wrote ſeveral miſcellaneous pieces in proſe, chiefly political, and ſome poems; theſe were originally printed in different forms, but they were collated and publiſhed in two vol. 8vo. in the year 1748.

Notwithſtanding it was generally acknowledged in the reign of Charles I. that Sir Walter Raleigh's death was an act of cruel, unjuſt policy in James I. yet his ſecond and only ſurviving ſon, Carew Raleigh, was very ill uſed by Charles, who obliged him to confirm the title of his father's valuable eſtate at Sherborne, to Sir John Digby his favourite, whom he created earl of Briſtol, and to whom this eſtate had been given by James I. at the requeſt of Charles, when prince of Wales, after the diſgrace of Car, earl of Somerſet. And on no other condition would this pious and juſt prince, as he is ſtyled by ſome hiſtorians, reſtore Mr. Raleigh in blood, alledging, that he had promiſed the manor of Sherborne to Digby, when he was prince of Wales, and now he was king, he was bound to confirm it.

That this was a manifeſt injuſtice is evident, for Charles was fully convinced, that Sir Walter Raleigh had not been guilty of high treaſon, but was put to death on a falſe accuſation, and therefore his eſtates could not in honour and equity be conſidered as forfeited to the crown; we may therefore place this diſpoſal of Mr. Carew Raleigh's eſtate at Sherborne, the foremoſt in the catalogue of arbitrary acts of violence and wrong committed by that obſtinate and miſguided monarch.

*** *Autha-*

*** *Authorities.* Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Fuller's Worthies of Devon. Dr. Birch's Life of Sir Walter, prefixed to his Miſcellaneous Works, already mentioned, in two vol. 8vo. Lond. 1748. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Mortimer's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II.

The LIFE of

FRANCIS BACON,

Viſcount St. ALBANS, Baron of VERULAM, and Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1561, to 1626.]

FRANCIS BACON, one of the greateſt men this, or any other country ever produced, whoſe extenſive abilities and amiable character rendered him moſt worthy of the admiration of his cotemporaries, and whoſe immortal works, are a moſt valuable legacy to his country; was the youngeſt ſon of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great-ſeal in the reign of Elizabeth, and of whom, the reader will find ſatisfactory memoirs included in the Life of Cecil, lord Burleigh, Vol. II.

He was born at York-houſe, in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561; and his extraordinary genius manifeſted itſelf ſo early, that queen Elizabeth herſelf, while he was but a boy, took a particular delight in trying him with queſtions; and

received so much satisfaction from the good sense and manliness of his answers, that she was wont to call him, in mirth, "her young lord-keeper." Among other smart replies, her Majesty having one day asked him, how old he was; he answered readily, "Just two years younger than your Majesty's happy reign."

His proficiency in learning was so rapid, that, in the twelfth year of his age, he was entered a student of Trinity-college, Cambridge; and went through all his courses there by the time he was sixteen; when his father sent him to Paris, and recommended him to Sir Amias Powlet, then the queen's ambassador in France; whose esteem and confidence he so intirely gained, that he was soon after entrusted by him with a secret commission to the queen, which he executed to the great satisfaction of her Majesty and the ambassador, and then returned to France to finish his travels.

Whilst abroad, he did not spend his time, as our young gentlemen usually do, in learning the vices, fopperies, and follies of foreigners; but in studying their constitution of government, their manners and customs; and the characters and views of their princes and ministers; and, in the nineteenth year of his age, he wrote a paper of observations on the then general state of Europe, which is still extant among his works.

During his residence in France, his father died suddenly, without making that separate provision for him, which he had intended: this obliged young Bacon to return instantly to his native country, in order to embrace some genteel profession for his support: with his father's reputation and success in view, it is no wonder he fixed on that of the law; we therefore find, that he entered himself of Gray's-Inn, and soon became so eminent in that profession, that,

that, at the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed by queen Elizabeth, her learned counsel extraordinary.

The lord-treasurer Burleigh, having married our young gentleman's aunt, he frequently applied to him for some post of honour and emolument under the government, with a view, as he declares, "to procure the greater assistance to his capacity and industry in perfecting his philosophical designs;" but Burleigh never got any thing for him, except the reversion of the office of register to the Star-chamber, then reckoned worth one thousand six hundred pounds a year, which did not fall to him till near twenty years afterwards; and, as he probably thought himself neglected by his uncle, he attached himself strongly to the earl of Essex; which of course made his uncle, and his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, his avowed enemies; for, when the earl, a little before his fall, warmly solicited his being made solicitor-general, it was opposed by his cousin, Sir Robert, who represented him to the queen as a man of mere speculation, and more likely to distract her affairs than to serve her usefully and with judgment: but all the interest of Essex, pursued with the warmest ardour of friendship, was not sufficient to procure for Bacon, the office of attorney, or even of solicitor-general, when these places happened to be vacant; so strenuously was his advancement at court opposed by Sir Robert Cecil, whose conversation with the earl of Essex, upon this subject, is preserved by Dr. Birch in his Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth.

His anxiety, on account of his scanty circumstances, being increased by this failure of his expectation of preferment, had a very bad effect upon his constitution, which was not naturally robust, and had been greatly impaired by his close applica-

tion to his ſtudies by night: his diſappointment, it is ſaid, affected his health and ſpirits ſo much, that he had once reſolved to hide his grief and reſentment in ſome foreign country, but fortunately for his own, the remonſtrances of his friends prevailed againſt this fatal determination. However, for ſome time after, he laid aſide all thoughts of public life, and applied himſelf to works of literature and philoſophy.

As for the earl of Eſſex, his unſucceſsful patron, he generouſly made Mr. Bacon a preſent of Twickenham-park and gardens, which by the earl's indulgence, he had often before made uſe of, as a beloved retreat, calculated for ſtudy, and the reſtoration of his health.

But the friendſhip between theſe great men, at length, degenerated into cool civility; and it probably aroſe from pride and reſentment on both ſides. Bacon undertook to give advice to a vain, ambitious, impetuous nobleman; and when he ſaw, that had it been followed, it would have greatly benefited the earl, he reſented the neglect of it; while on the other hand, Eſſex grew ſour and reſerved to the friend who fatigued him with remonſtrances againſt his bad conduct. At length, when Eſſex was brought to his trial for high treaſon, Bacon, rather than reſign an empty honour, officially appeared and pleaded againſt him, in his quality of counſel extraordinary to the queen; this conduct has ſubjected him to the ſevereſt cenſures, and can only be palliated by admitting, that he was obliged to act againſt him officially, or to loſe ſight of all future hopes of preferment, by incurring the queen's diſpleaſure.

But there is a charge againſt him of a deeper dye, which will not ſo readily admit of any juſtifiable excuſe. And indeed it is here neceſſary to put

put in a caveat againſt any miſconception that may ariſe in the reader's mind, from the exalted character generally given of this rare and ſingular genius; whom Pope, with ſome truth, but perhaps too ſevere a ſatire, ſtyles—

—The wiſeſt! brighteſt! meaneſt of mankind.—

It is as a private man, as a philoſopher, and as a moſt excellent author, that we deem him a bright ornament to his country; not as a courtier, for in that light his conduct was as culpable, as that of the preſent race of intriguers. And this will appear from the following anecdote.

After the death of Eſſex, the reflections of the people on the prevailing party at court, and even on the queen herſelf, were ſo ſevere and ſo general, that the adminiſtration thought it neceſſary to vindicate their conduct in an appeal to the public.

This odious taſk was artfully aſſigned to Bacon, to divert the national reſentment from themſelves, to a man who could ſo far proſtitute his great abilities, as to employ his pen in the ſervice of the miniſtry, to blaſt the character and deſtroy the ſurviving fame of his benefactor, who with all his faults was the darling of the people. The time-ſerving pamphlet was called "a declaration of the treaſon of Robert earl of Eſſex;" but, in fact, it was "a declaration that Francis Bacon wanted to be advanced at court, on any terms:" but here again he was diſappointed of his reward; and being unable to endure the loſs of the public eſteem, he was under the neceſſity to write a counter-piece, intitled, "the apology of Francis Bacon, in certain imputations concerning the earl of Eſſex;" and this being conſidered by the court as a kind of recantation, did him no ſervice in the opinion of his

his ſovereign; ſo that he remained unprovided for, and did not recover any ſhare of the eſteem of his fellow-ſubjects till the ſucceeding reign.

He took care, however, privately to ingratiate himſelf with the Scotch party, and by their means, to get his tenders of loyalty and zeal conveyed to king James, who was hardly ſeated on the throne when he conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

Sir Francis Bacon now gained a firm footing at court, and his next ſtep was to recover his popularity, for which purpoſe he prudently embraced a moſt favourable opportunity.

In the preceding reign, the country-people had been greatly oppreſſed by the royal purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance; the affair had been laid before the queen, and ſome meaſures had been taken with a view of redreſſing it; but they had proved ineffectual: the houſe of commons therefore took this buſineſs in hand, in the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament, in the reign of James I. And, having agreed to make a ſolemn repreſentation of this grievance and its pernicious conſequences to the throne, they made choice of Sir Francis Bacon, as the propereſt perſon, to explain to his Majeſty, the ſenſe of the houſe upon this weighty matter. This truſt he diſcharged entirely to the ſatisfaction of both prince and people, and thus he was reſtored to the public favour. The thanks of the houſe of commons were likewiſe voted to him on this occaſion; but ſtill Sir Robert Cecil oppoſed his advancement, and he was ſupported by Sir Edward Coke, attorney-general, who dreaded the full diſplay of Bacon's abilities in the law, and in ſtate affairs: this accounts for his not obtaining the promotion he had ſo long expected till 1607, when he was appointed ſolicitor-general.

Sir

Sir Francis Bacon, from the date of his entering upon this office, may be conſidered as a profeſſed courtier, and as a ſervant ſtrongly attached to his maſter, whoſe views he conſtantly promoted, contrary to his better judgment, and to that ſpirit of true patriotiſm, his country had a right to ſee exerted, by a man of his talents, in the cauſe of civil liberty.

The king having nothing ſo much at heart as the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, upon a plan highly detrimental to the former; it is an indelible reproach to Sir Francis Bacon, that he ſtrained every nerve, exhauſting all the powers of argument and eloquence in the houſe of commons to carry this point, in which however he failed; the houſe being already too well convinced of the king's deſign to govern arbitrarily, by means of a junto of Scotch favourites.

Sir Francis, thus checked once more in his ambitious career, gave more application to the buſineſs of his profeſſion; he appeared often in Weſtminſter-hall, and his reputation as a lawyer was ſo great, that he was engaged in moſt of the capital cauſes, and had very extenſive practice.

It is likewiſe obſervable, that when he had not his advancement at court immediately in view, he undertook the management of affairs, in which the people were intereſted, and ſerved them with zeal and ability. Thus, being employed by the houſe of commons, as their chief manager at a conference held with the lords, in order to perſuade the upper houſe to concur in an application to the throne, for aboliſhing the ancient tenures under the crown, and for allowing a certain revenue in lieu thereof, Sir Francis, in his ſpeech, ſet the matter in ſo clear a light, that it occaſioned the diſſolution of the court of wards, which was juſtly eſteemed an important

important point carried in favour of the liberties of the people.

In 1611, Sir Francis Bacon was appointed a judge of the Marſhalſea-court, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Vaſavor; and in 1613, upon the promotion of Sir Henry Hobart, to be chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, Sir Francis Bacon ſucceeded him in the office of attorney-general.

In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, an objection was ſtarted againſt his retaining his ſeat in the houſe of commons, it being deemed incompatible with the office of attorney-general, whoſe functions required his frequent attendance in the upper houſe; but ſo great was the regard ſhewn by the members of the houſe of commons to Sir Francis, that the objection was over-ruled.

To his great honour, while he held this office, he exerted all his efforts to ſuppreſs, the vile cuſtom of duelling. And, upon an information exhibited in the ſtar-chamber againſt Prieſt and Wright, he delivered ſo excellent a charge to the court againſt duels, that the lords of the council, contrary to their uſual practice, ordered it to be printed and publiſhed, with the decree of the court, on the cauſe.

Sir Francis Bacon's private affairs appear now to have been in a more proſperous ſituation, than at any future period of his life. For the office of attorney-general brought him in 6000*l.* per annum, and that of regiſter to the ſtar-chamber, which had fallen to him, was worth 1600*l.* to which we muſt add, the rents of his family eſtates, which by the death of his elder brother, came into his poſſeſſion.

The death of Sir Robert Cecil, and the diſgrace of Robert Car earl of Somerſet, likewiſe removed all obſtacles to his attainment of his utmoſt wiſhes as a courtier. And the vigour with which he proſecuted

ſecuted Somerſet, joined to the neceſſity of having ſuch an able adviſer, recommended him to the new favourite, Sir George Villers, afterwards duke of Buckingham: it appears, that in cultivating a ſtrict friendſhip with the duke, he had the ſervice of his country at heart, for he reproved him upon every occaſion, when he thought his conduct was wrong; and the letter of advice, ſtill extant in his works, to this miniſter, on the duties of his high ſtation, is a ſtrong proof of our former obſervation, that he had the intereſt of his country at heart, though he occaſionally ſacrificed it to the private views of his prince, or to his own ambition.

In 1617, the lord-chancellor Egerton, who had often petitioned the king for leave to reſign on account of his great age and infirmities, at laſt obtained that favour; he had ſat in the court of chancery twenty-one years, and was reputed to be an able lawyer; but in his official capacity, he had the character of being an abject tool of adminiſtration.

Sir Francis Bacon conſtantly had the ſeals in view, but he had a powerful rival to encounter in Sir Edward Coke; but he took care ſo artfully to inſinuate his own ductility, and influence in the houſe of commons, at the ſame time depreciating the character of Sir Edward, who upon more occaſions than one, had lately ſhewn himſelf intractable, and deſirous rather to defend the rights of the people, than the idle prerogatives of the crown, that the ſeals were given to him, with the title of lord-keeper; and Sir Edward Coke continued chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, to which he had been promoted the year before; becauſe he had been remiſs in ſome ſevere proſecutions he had been ordered to carry on, at the ſuit of the crown, againſt the ſubject.

The

The following year, the new minister Buckingham, finding Bacon to be a man after his own heart, obtained for him the dignity of lord-high-chancellor; and a peerage, by the title of baron of Verulam, by which title he is chiefly distinguished in the learned world; for which reason we prefer it to the more honourable one of viscount St. Albans, to which he was advanced in 1620.

Within a few days after the seals had been given to Sir Francis Bacon, the king set out for Scotland; and the lord-keeper, being at the head of the council, in virtue of his office, had the chief management of public affairs; this happened at a very critical juncture, when the proposition for a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales, and an Infanta of Spain, was brought upon the carpet. Bacon, who foresaw the difficulties and inconveniencies that would attend this measure, strongly remonstrated against it to the king, and to Buckingham; but James, who was remarkable for his pride and obstinacy, persisted in this design against all advice and every principle of sound policy for seven years, till the match was abruptly broke off in Spain, by the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham.

Before his Majesty returned, another affair happened, which, though of a private nature, greatly disturbed the lord-keeper. Winwood, one of the secretaries of state, having the interest of Sir Edward Coke at heart, and wishing to bring him into favour with the minister, in opposition to Bacon, prevailed with Sir Edward to give his daughter in marriage to Sir John Villers, Buckingham's brother, though he had before rejected the alliance with marks of disrespect. Sir Francis Bacon, apprehensive that all his great designs, which he meditated for the good of his country, would be

thwarted, and his influence considerably lessened, if Coke was brought into the council, took every possible measure to prevent the match: he wrote to the king, and to the minister against it, and was so warm upon the occasion, that he incurred the displeasure of both; but especially of the latter, who considered it as a very advantageous offer for his brother, the lady being possessed of a very large fortune. But their resentment appears to have been but of short continuance, for it was not long after this event, that Bacon was created a peer of the realm.

But though ambition had a great share in the character of lord Verulam, it appears evidently, that philosophy was his ruling passion; for amidst all the variety and intricacy of the business in which he was necessarily involved as a lawyer and a statesman, he found time to compose and to publish in 1620, the best finished and most important, though the least read, of all his philosophical tracts, the *Novum organum Scientiarum*. This piece is properly a second part of his grand *Instauration of the Sciences*, calculated to promote a more perfect method of exercising, our rational faculties, than that before taught in the schools, by exercising the human mind in contemplations on the works of nature and art, and employing it on nobler subjects than abstruse scholastic speculations, which serve only to involve learned men in frivolous controversies and idle disputations.

Lord Verulam sent a copy of this new work to the king, and three copies to Sir Henry Wotton, a gentleman of the first reputation at that time in the learned world; and as the letters written to the author by the king and by Sir Henry upon this occasion, shew the great estimation in which the work was then held, it is highly proper to insert them, with

with a view of engaging ſtudents in philoſophy, to pay more regard to this work than it generally meets with, in the preſent day.

The King, to the Lord Chancellor.

" My very good Lord,

" I have received your letter, and your book, than the which you could not have ſent a more acceptable preſent unto me. How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expreſſed by me, than by a firm reſolution I have taken; firſt to read it through, with care and attention, though I ſhould ſteal ſome hours from my ſleep, having otherwiſe as little ſpare time to read it, as you had to write it; and then to uſe the liberty of a true friend, in not ſparing to aſk you the queſtion, in any point whereof I ſhall ſtand in doubt: as, on the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to ſuch places, as in my opinion ſhall deſerve it. In the mean time, I can with comfort aſſure you, that you could not have made choice of a ſubject more befitting your place, and your univerſal and methodical knowledge: and in the general, I have already obſerved, that you jump with me, in keeping the mid-way between the two extremes; as alſo in ſome particulars, I have found that you agree fully with my opinion. And ſo praying God to give your work as good ſucceſs as your heart can wiſh, and your labours deſerve, I bid you farewell."

Oct. 16, 1620. JAMES R.

Sir Henry Wotton to the Lord Chancellor.

—" Your lordſhip hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature

nature herſelf in her uttermoſt extent of latitude: who, never before, had ſo noble, nor ſo true an interpreter, or, (as I am readier to ſtyle your lordſhip) never ſo inward a ſecretary of her cabinet. But of your work, which came but this week to my hands, I ſhall find occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter; having yet read only the firſt book thereof, and a few aphoriſms of the ſecond. For it is not a banquet that men may ſuperficially taſte, and put up the reſt in their pockets; but, in truth, a ſolid feaſt, which requireth due maſtication. Therefore, when I have once, myſelf, peruſed the whole, I determine to have it read, piece by piece, at certain hours, in my domeſtic college, as an ancient author: for I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extremely miſtaken in the computation of antiquity, by ſearching it backwards; becauſe, indeed, the firſt times were the youngeſt; eſpecially in points of natural diſcovery and experience."

Lord Verulam had now attained the full gratification of his wiſhes; he had triumphed over his competitors at court, and was the ſubject of general admiration in the learned world: but, alas! how ſhort-lived do we often find human greatneſs! The very next year, king James was forced to call a parliament; and, as the nation was highly diſſatisfied with the conduct both of Buckingham and the chancellor, the houſe of commons ſet on foot a ſtrict ſcrutiny into their conduct. The king wanted money ſo much, that he could not diſſolve them: but, to divert them from the proſecution of his favourite, Buckingham, the monopolies and illegal patents were all cancelled and recalled by proclamation; and the court ſecretly countenanced the proſecution of the chancellor: in conſequence of which, he was impeached by the houſe of commons

mons of corrupt practices, in causes depending before him, as chief judge in equity; so entirely had he lost that great character, which, but seven years before, he had among the commons, when he was attorney-general.

As the court thought that his condemnation and punishment would satisfy the commons, and divert them entirely from the prosecution of Buckingham; but were at the same time afraid, that, if he appeared and stood upon his defence, his eloquence, and what he had to offer against the charge, might procure an acquittal, they commanded him not to appear in person, but to send a confession of all he was accused of to the house in writing; which arbitrary command he was so faint-hearted as to comply with, trusting to the king's promise, that he should have a pardon, and a remission of his fine, together with a pension during life: upon his own confession, he was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment in the commonwealth; and never to sit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

Thus this great man was made the scape-goat, as it often happens, for a higher criminal; and, though he had certainly got a great deal of money by his employment and by his profession, for he was in every great cause that happened whilst he was at the bar, yet he had purchased but a very small estate of about six hundred pounds a year; and was so far from having any ready-money, that he was considerably in debt; occasioned by his indulgence to his servants, and by his being cheated and defrauded by them: nay, his condemnation was chiefly owing to their exactions and the bribes they had taken whilst he was chancellor, though it

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is plain he was not influenced by them in his decrees, as not one of them was reverſed. And, at laſt, he became ſenſible of his error with reſpect to his ſervants; for, during his proſecution, as he was paſſing through a room where they were ſitting; upon ſight of him they all ſtood up; on which he cried, "Sit down, my maſters; your riſe hath been my fall."

The king ſoon releaſed him from the Tower, made a grant of his fine to ſome truſtees for his benefit, and ſettled upon him a penſion of one thouſand eight hundred pounds a year, out of the broad-ſeal, and alienation-offices; but, as he applied moſt of his income to the payment of the debts he had contracted when in office, theſe draw-backs, together with his expences in procuring materials and making experiments in natural philoſophy, reduced him to neceſſitous circumſtances, and forced him to make ſuch applications to king James, as prove his great addreſs and perfect knowledge of that prince's diſpoſition. The king, likewiſe, in a very ſhort time, granted him a full and entire pardon of his whole ſentence; but he did not live long to enjoy theſe favours; for, as he was making ſome experiments at Highgate, he was ſuddenly taken ill; and, being carried to the earl of Arundel's houſe there, he expired, after a week's illneſs, on the 9th of April, 1626, without any iſſue by his wife, who was a daughter of alderman Barnham, of London, whom he married when about the age of forty, and with whom he received a plentiful fortune. This lady ſurvived him upwards of twenty years.

He owed his death at laſt to an exceſs, not unbecoming a philoſopher, in purſuing, with more application than his ſtrength could bear, certain experiments for the conſervation of bodies. His

remains

remains were buried privately in St. Michael's church, near St. Albans; and the ſpot that contained them lay obſcure and undiſtinguiſhed till a monument was erected to his name and memory, from a principle of gratitude, by Sir Thomas Meautys, who had formerly been one of his ſervants, and afterwards by deſcent came to the poſſeſſion of a conſiderable eſtate. In another country, in a better age (ſays Mr. Mallet) his monument would have ſtood a public proof in what veneration the whole ſociety held a citizen, whoſe genius did them honour, and whoſe writings will inſtruct their lateſt poſterity.

Various are the characters given by different writers of this celebrated man. By ſome, his faults are extenuated; and by others, highly aggravated. But all acknowledge, that his great and extraordinary abilities rendered him one of the greateſt ornaments of his age and country.

With reſpect to his failings in his public character, the moſt charitable conſtruction that can be put upon them is, to allow what is the real truth, and is frequently obſervable with reſpect to learned men; that his application to his ſtudies, prevented his attention to the neceſſary rules for the common conduct of life.

His crime of bribery was the effect of want of regularity in his domeſtic arrangements. And as to money, like many other eminent philoſophers, he diſdained to ſtudy its value, and therefore deſpiſed it; to which cauſe all his errors may be aſcribed.

However, poſterity ſeem to have accepted his bequeſt contained in this ſingular paſſage of his laſt will. "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable ſpeeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages." His offence being only ſlightly recorded,

recorded, in respect to historical truth, while the most ample, and grateful tribute is paid, to the rare talents he possessed.

And the editors of the British Biography justly observe, "that the praise of Bacon is founded not upon his skill in this or that particular branch of knowledge, but on his great and comprehensive understanding, which took in almost the whole extent of universal science. And he was so little indebted to the partiality of his countrymen, that his writings appear, for some time at least, to have been more esteemed and admired in foreign countries than in England."

We have now only to add, a concise account of the learned labours of this illustrious philosopher. His earliest production was the First Part of Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral; an admirable work: in which our author instructs men in the most useful principles of wisdom and prudence, and teaches them how to acquire what are esteemed the greatest blessings, and how to avoid the evils which are most dreaded in the conduct of human life. These essays were published in 1597.

In 1605, appeared his preparation or introduction to his capital work, in a treatise, "On the Advancement and Proficiency of Human Learning." The general design of this treatise was, to give a summary account of the stock of knowledge whereof mankind were then possessed; to lay down this knowledge under such natural branches, or scientifical divisions, as might most commodiously admit of its further improvement; to point out its deficiencies, or desiderata; and lastly, to shew, by examples, the direct ways of supplying this deficiency. After his retirement from public business, he very much enlarged and corrected the original; and, with the assistance of some friends, he turned the whole

whole into Latin. This is the edition of 1623, and is properly the first part of his "*Grand Instauration of the Sciences.*"

In 1607, he sent a Latin treatise, intitled, *Cogitata & Visa*, to his friend Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, desiring his opinion of it; the same method he took with Sir Thomas Bodley; and the reason of his proceeding in this cautious manner was, that this treatise, containing the plan of his *Novum Organum*, or second part of the Instauration of the Sciences, of which we have already taken sufficient notice; that nothing might be wanting to complete that celebrated work, he laid the plan in this manner before the most able critics of the times, and revised and amended it, upon the friendly hints thrown out by them.

In 1610, Sir Francis published a learned, critical tract in Latin, intitled, *De Sapientia Veterum*; On the Wisdom of the Ancients. There have been very few books published, either in this, or in any other nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer; for, in all this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in literature; as he had done by his political conduct, for he then stood fair with all parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration: and, on the other hand, their opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate, that the sagacity of a modern genius had found out much better meanings for the ancients than ever were meant by themselves.

In his introduction, he gives an ample and satisfactory account of the reasons which induced him to believe, that, notwithstanding the seeming absurdities

dities in the fabulous hiſtories of the ancients, there was, however, ſomething at the bottom which deſerved to be examined into and enquired after. Theſe obſervations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus:

"But the argument of moſt weight with me is this; that many of theſe fables by no means appear to have been invented by the perſons who relate and divulge them; whether Homer, Heſiod, or others: for, if I were aſſured they firſt flowed from thoſe latter times, and authors that tranſmit them to us, I ſhould never expect any thing ſingularly great or noble from ſuch an origin. But whoever attentively conſiders the thing, will find that theſe fables are delivered down and related by thoſe writers, not as matters then firſt invented and propoſed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages: beſides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the ſame ages, it is eaſily perceived, that the relators drew from the common ſtock of ancient tradition, and varied but in point of embelliſhment; which is their own; and this principally raiſes my eſteem of theſe fables; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets; but as ſacred relics, gentle whiſpers, and the breath of better times, that, from the traditions of more ancient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one ſhall, notwithſtanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or impoſed upon the ancient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undiſturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects, though we cannot help accounting it ſomewhat dull and phlegmatic; and, if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument.

"Men have propoſed to anſwer two different and contrary ends by the uſe of parable, for parables ſerve as well to inſtruct and illuſtrate, as to wrap up and envelope; ſo that, though, for the preſent, we drop the concealed uſe, and ſuppoſe the ancient fables to be vague, undeterminate things, formed for amuſement, ſtill the other uſe muſt remain and can never be given up: and every man of any learning muſt readily allow, that this method of inſtructing is grave, ſober, and exceedingly uſeful, and ſometimes neceſſary in the ſciences, as it opens an eaſy and familiar paſſage to the human underſtanding in all new diſcoveries, that are abſtruſe, and are out of the road of vulgar opinions.

"Hence, in the firſt ages, when ſuch inventions and concluſions of human reaſon, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, ſimilies, compariſons, and alluſions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilſt the minds of men continued rude and unpractiſed in matters of ſubtilty or ſpeculation, or even impatient, or in a manner uncapable of receiving ſuch things as did not directly fall under and ſtrike the ſenſes: for, as hieroglyphics were in uſe before writing, ſo were parables in uſe before arguments; and, even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human underſtanding, and conquer prejudice, without raiſing conteſts, animoſities, oppoſition, or diſturbance, he muſt ſtill go in the ſame path, and have recourſe to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and alluſion.

"To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by deſign made this uſe of trope and figure; happy, if, whilſt they had other views, they afforded matter and occaſion to ſuch noble contemplations. Let either

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be the caſe, our pains, perhaps, will not be miſ-employed, whether we illuſtrate antiquity, or the things themſelves. The like, indeed, has been attempted by others; but, to ſpeak ingenuouſly, their great and voluminous labours have almoſt deſtroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing; whilſt, being unſkilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the ſenſe of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth.

"For myſelf, therefore, I expect to appear new in theſe common things, becauſe, leaving untouched ſuch as are ſufficiently plain and open, I ſhall drive only at thoſe that are either deep or rich."

It has been the cuſtom of the writers of the life of Sir Francis Bacon, to give very long extracts, with obſervations on the *Novum Organum*. The preſent editor diſapproves this precedent, having found theſe extracts to be little better than defective mutilations, and the remarks or comments upon the work itſelf to be written by pens as unequal to the taſk as his own; beſides, as a moſt valuable, correct edition of all the works of our author was publiſhed in 1765, in 5 volumes, quarto, by Dr. Birch, he thinks it is doing the beſt juſtice to lord Verulam, and to that able editor, to recommend to the reader, and in particular, to young ſtudents, an attentive peruſal of the whole of that perfect model of *The new Philoſophy*.

*** *Authorities.* Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon. Teniſon's Baconiana. Mallet's Life of Bacon. Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth. Britiſh Biography, Vol. IV.

The LIFE of

LANCELOT ANDREWS,

BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

[A. D. 1555, to 1626.]

THIS eminent divine, equally celebrated for his virtues and his univerſal learning; the cotemporary and intimate friend of the great lord Verulam, whom he ſurvived but a few months; was the ſon of a ſea-faring man, who in the decline of life was choſen maſter of the Trinity-houſe at Deptford. He was born in the pariſh of All-hallows near Tower-hill, in the year 1555; and received the rudiments of his education at the free-ſchool of the company of Coopers in Radcliffe-highway: from thence he was removed to Merchant-Taylors ſchool, where he made a great proficiency in the learned languages under Mr. Mulcaſter, who recommended him to Dr. Watts, canon-reſidentiary of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Middleſex, who had then lately founded ſome ſcholarſhips at Pembroke-college, Cambridge, the firſt of which he beſtowed on young Andrews. After he had taken the degree of batchelor of arts, he was choſen fellow of his college; in this ſituation he continued four years, applying himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity; at the uſual time, he commenced maſter of arts,

arts, and was then chosen catechist of the college, which gave him an opportunity of reading lectures on the Ten Commandments on Saturdays and Sundays, to which great numbers resorted from the other colleges, and likewise young gentlemen and clergymen from the neighbourhood; and as he possessed a graceful address, and a fine delivery, these added to his abilities, procured him great reputation; the fame of which being circulated by those who attended his divinity-lecture, soon reached the ear of Mr. Hugh Price, the founder of Jesus-college, Oxford, who, without his knowledge, bestowed on him one of the first fellowships in his new institution.

It was his custom, after he had been three years at Cambridge, and he continued it as long as he resided at either of the universities, to make an annual visit to his parents at London; and his father having previous notice, by his desire, used to prepare a private tutor to instruct him in some branch or other of the sciences or arts, not taught in the universities; so that within a few years he had acquired the elements of all arts and sciences, and a competent knowledge of the modern languages. He performed his journies on foot, till he was a batchelor of divinity; and he professed, that even then he would not have rode on horseback, but to avoid the imputation of walking merely to save charges. He never loved, or used any games or ordinary recreations; his common exercise and amusement was walking, and he assigned the noblest reason for preferring it to all others; frequently declaring to his companions and friends, that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters and heavens; and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues and uses, was to him, the most exquisite of all entertainments.

His reputation increasing daily, he was not long without a patron; for Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the North, with great judgment made choice of him as his chaplain, to attend him in his progress through that part of England; where, by his preaching, and private conferences, he became highly useful to government, by converting a number of Roman catholics to the protestant faith, and amongst these, several priests.

Such a seasonable service, naturally recommended him to Sir Francis Walsingham, then secretary of state; who, being unwilling that such a promising genius should lie concealed and unnoticed in some obscure country village, resolved to provide for him in town; and accordingly, by the strength of his interest, Mr. Andrews was appointed vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and in a short time after, prebendary and residentiary of St. Paul's; also prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell.

Being thus preferred, he distinguished himself as a diligent and excellent preacher, and he read divinity-lectures three days in the week at St. Paul's, during Term-time. Upon the death of Dr. Fulke, he was chosen master of Pembroke-hall, to which college he afterwards became a considerable benefactor. He was next appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to queen Elizabeth, who took great delight in his preaching, and promoted him to the deanry of Westminster in 1601. He was not less esteemed by James I. who gave him the preference to all other divines as a preacher, and made choice of him to answer cardinal Bellarmine, who had attacked, with great vehemence, the king's treatise, intitled, "The defence of the right of kings." His Majesty had maintained the doctrine of regal supremacy over all causes and persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil: it was the proper business of

of a cardinal to endeavour to confute it; but Bellarmine, ashamed to put his own name to an illiberal performance, ushered it into the world, under the name of Matthew Tortus; and Mr. Andrews wittily intitled his reply, which was written in Latin, *Tortura Torti, &c.* The king was so well pleased with this judicious performance, that he rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chichester in 1605; at the same time, he likewise made him lord-almoner, which office he executed in a conscientious, disinterested manner, refusing to make those advantages of his places to which he was legally intitled.

Upon the vacancy of the see of Ely, he was translated to it in 1609; and the same year, he was sworn of the king's privy-council in England, as he was afterwards of Scotland, upon attending his Majesty to that kingdom.

When he had sat nine years in the see of Ely, he was translated to that of Winchester, and also appointed dean of the Royal-chapel. And to his honour it is recorded of him, that these preferments were conferred upon him without any court interest, or solicitations on the part of himself, or his friends: it is likewise observed, that though he was a privy-counsellor in times of dangers and difficulty in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. he interfered very little in temporal concerns; but in all affairs relative to the church and the duties of his function, he was remarkably diligent and active.

A pleasant story is related of this worthy prelate, in Waller's life prefixed to his works, as it is said to have been told by that poet to Dr. Birch, his son-in-law.

Waller going to see king James at dinner, on the day he had dissolved the parliament, over-heard a very extraordinary conversation between his Ma-

jeſty, biſhop Andrews, and Neile, biſhop of Durham. The two prelates ſtanding behind the king's chair, his Majeſty aſked them, if he could not take his ſubjects money whenever he wanted it, without the formality of a parliament.—The biſhop of Durham, who was a complete court-ſycophant, readily anſwered, "God forbid, Sir, but you ſhould; you are the breath of our noſtrils." Whereupon the king turned and ſaid to the biſhop of Wincheſter, "Well, my lord, what ſay you?" Sir, replied Andrews, I have no ſkill to judge in parliamentary caſes. The king haſtily added, "No put-offs, my lord, anſwer me preſently." "Then, Sir," ſaid he, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it." Mr. Waller ſaid, the company were much pleaſed with this anſwer, and the king in particular was ſtruck with the humour of it; for a certain nobleman coming in ſoon after, his Majeſty cried out, "Oh! my lord, they ſay you *lig*, (a Scotch word for *lie*) with my lady." "No, Sir," ſaid his lordſhip, in great confuſion, "but I like her company, becauſe ſhe has ſo much "wit." "Why then," returned the king, maintaining the charge, "do you not *lig* with my lord "of Wincheſter there."

After a long life of honour and tranquillity, in which he enjoyed the diſtinguiſhed eſteem of three ſucceſſive ſovereigns, the friendſhip of all men of letters, his cotemporaries, and the veneration of all good chriſtians, this pious and learned prelate died at Wincheſter-houſe in Southwark, in September, 1626. He was interred in the pariſh church of St. Saviour, where his executors erected to his memory an handſome monument, of marble and alabaſter, on which is an elegant Latin inſcription, by one of his chaplains. Milton alſo wrote a beautiful elegy on the occaſion of his death, in the ſame language.

gu-ge, which is one of the earliest productions of that immortal bard, for he was but seventeen years of age, when bishop Andrews died.

Dr. Fuller observes, that king James had so great an awe of, and veneration for bishop Andrews, that in his presence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himself at other times. His reputation, as a learned man, was well known in foreign countries; for, as he understood a great variety of languages, at least fifteen, and was conversant in the Oriental tongues, he was engaged in an extensive correspondence, with all the literati of Europe. Casaubon extols his skill in all kinds of learning, Spanheim styles him, a prelate of most acute judgment; and Vossius, in his treatise, *De vitiis sermonis*, gives him the character of a man of most accomplished learning.

He was very careful to prefer men of abilities and good moral characters to the ecclesiastical benefices in his gift. And that he might be enabled to form a better judgment of those who were the objects of his choice, he sent for clergymen who had acquired renown for piety and learning, and who were unprovided for, defrayed the expences of their journies, entertained them hospitably; and if in his private conversations with them, they answered the good report given of them, he bestowed livings upon them as they became vacant. As his fortune increased, so did his liberality and charity; and he particularly delighted in releasing prisoners confined for small debts, or the gaoler's fees; a charity, of the most humane and beneficial kind, as well to the individuals as to society; for which a most laudable institution has lately been set on foot in London, by the voluntary subscription of the nobility and gentry. Another circumstance concerning his charities deserves our notice, though we are

afraid it will be but ſeldom imitated in an age, in which oſtentation is a prevailing foible. He gave ſtrict charge to ſuch of his ſervants as were intruſted with the diſtribution of his bounty, that they ſhould not acknowledge from whence this relief came; but directed, that the receipts they took, as vouchers for their faithful diſcharge of their truſt, ſhould be ſigned by the perſons relieved, as received from an unknown benefactor.

Another ſocial virtue, for which this prelate has been juſtly admired, is gratitude, of which he had ſo warm a ſenſe, that it extended to acts of kindneſs even to the relations of thoſe from whom he had received any favours. He beſtowed a valuable living on Dr. Ward, the ſon of his firſt ſchoolmaſter, at the Coopers-ſchool. He alſo ſhewed every mark of perſonal eſteem for Mr. Mulcaſter, his ſchool-maſter at Merchant-Taylors ſchool, always placing him at the head of his table; and though pictures were but little in uſe at that time, after his death, he had his picture placed over his ſtudy door; he alſo provided for his ſon, to whom he bequeathed a valuable legacy. He likewiſe enquired very carefully after the kindred of Dr. Watts, who firſt ſent him to Pembroke-hall, and having found out a diſtant relation, he gave him great preferments in that college.

The example of a good man, has generally more influence on the minds of youth than precept; we ſhall therefore extend this article, though we ſhould be liable to the imputation of tautology, by adding the following character of him, contained in the dedication of his ſermons publiſhed under the joint care and inſpection of the biſhops of London and Ely. "The perſon whoſe works theſe are, was from his youth, a man of extraordinary worth and note; a man, as if he had been made up of learning

ing and virtue, both of them so eminent in him, that it is hard to judge which had precedency. His virtue, which we must still judge the more worthy in any man, was comparable to that which was to be found in the primitive bishops of the church; and had he lived among those ancient fathers, his virtues would have shined even among those virtuous men. And as for his learning, that was as well, if not better known abroad, than respected at home. And, take him in his latitude, we, which knew him well, knew not any kind of learning to which he was a stranger, but in his profession admirable. None stronger than he, where he wrestled with an adversary; and that Bellarmine felt, who was as well able to shift for himself, as any that stood up for the Roman party. None more exact, more judicious than he, where he was to instruct and inform others; and that, as they knew, who often heard him preach, so they may learn who will read this, which he hath left behind him. And yet this fulness of his material learning left room enough in the temper of his brain for almost all languages, learned and modern, to seat themselves: so that his learning had all the helps language could afford; and his languages learning enough for the best of them to express. His judgment, in the mean time, so commanding over both, as that neither of them was suffered idly or curiously to start from, or fall short, of their intended scope. So that we may better say of him, than it was sometimes said of Claudius Drusus, "he was of as many, and as great virtues, as mortal nature could receive, or industry make perfect."

Bishop Andrews was the author of a variety of theological and polemical pieces, but the following are the principal, worthy of note at present.

1. The

1. The moral Law expounded; or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments. Whereunto are annexed, nineteen ſermons upon prayer in general, and the Lord's-prayer in particular. London 1643, folio.

2. A Collection of poſthumous and orphan Lectures, delivered at St. Paul's, and at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London 1657, folio.

3. *Reſponſiones ad Petri Molinæi Epiſtolas tres*, &c.

4. Stricturæ; or a brief Anſwer to the eighteenth Chapter of the Firſt Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, &c.

The two laſt, with ſeveral other of his tracts and ſermons, were collected and publiſhed in one volume, 4to, in 1629.

*** *Authorities.* Iſaacſon's Life of Biſhop Andrews. General Biog. Dictionary. Britiſh Biog. Vol. IV.

The

The LIFE of

GEORGE VILLIERS,

DUKE of BUCKINGHAM.

[A. D. 1592, to 1628.]

Written by a Cotemporary, in the Style of the Times.

GEORGE VILLIERS, the famous duke of Buckingham, was born in the year 1592, at Brookesby in Leicestershire, where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four hundred years, rather without obscurity, than with any great lustre, after they had long before been seated at Kinalton in the county of Nottingham. He was the third son of Sir George Villiers, by Mary, the daughter of Anthony Beaumont, of Cole-orton, Esq; names on either side well known of ancient extraction. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first rudiments, till the years of ten; and from thence sent to Billisden-school in the same county, where he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth of his age; at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother (for those attributes will not be denied her) took him home to

to her houſe at Goodby, where ſhe had him in eſpecial care; ſo as he was firſt (as we may ſay) a domeſtic favourite; but finding him (as it ſhould ſeem) by nature a little ſtudious and contemplative, ſhe choſe rather to endue him with converſive qualities and ornaments of youth, as dancing, fencing, and the like; not without aim then, perchance, (though far off) at a courtier's life: to which leſſons he had ſuch a dextrous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to reſtrain his forwardneſs; to the end that his brothers, who were under the ſame training, might hold pace with him.

About the age of eighteen, he travelled into France, where he improved himſelf well in the language, for one that had ſo little grammatical foundation: but more in the exerciſes of that nobility, for the ſpace of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms (the ordinary diſeaſe of travellers). After his return, he paſſed again one whole year (as before) at Goodby, under the wing and counſels of his mother: and then was forward to become a ſuitor at London to Sir Roger Aſhton's daughter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to king James, and maſter of the robes. About which time, he fell into intrinſical ſociety with Sir John Greham, then one of the gentlemen of his Majeſty's privy-chamber: who, I know not upon what luminaries he eſpied in his face, diſſuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court. Which advice ſunk well into his fancy; for within ſome while, the king had taken upon certain glances (whereof the firſt was at Apthorpe, in a progreſs) ſuch liking of his perſon, that he reſolved to make him a maſter-piece, and to mould him, as it were, platonically to his own idea. Neither was his Majeſty content only to be the

architect

architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself. Insomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to vail his goodness even to the giving of his foresaid friend, Sir John Greham, secret directions, how, and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession of the king's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a favourite, especially towards the waining-time and suspect of satiety. So as many arts were used to discuss the beginning of new affection. All which, notwithstanding, there was conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the king's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant; and shortly after, his cup-bearer at large; and the summer following he was admitted into ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him (like main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews) for the next St. George's-day he was knighted, and made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and the very same day had an annual pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds, out of the court of wards.

At New-year's-tide following, the king chose him master of the horse. After this he was installed of the most noble order. And in the next August he created him baron of Whaddon, and viscount Villiers. In January of the same year, he was advanced earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his Majesty's privy-council; as if a favourite were not so before.

The March ensuing, he attended the king into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a counsellor in that kingdom; where he carried himself with singular sweetness of temper, as it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their own,

own, to ſtudy a moderate ſtile among thoſe generous ſpirits.

About New-year's-tide, after his return from thence, (for thoſe beginnings of years were very propitious to him, as if kings did chuſe remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times, as of the will) he was created marquis of Buckingham, and made lord-admiral of England; chief-juſtice in eyre of all the parks and foreſts on the ſouth-ſide of Trent; maſter of the King's-bench office, (none of the unprofitable pieces); head ſteward of Weſtminſter, and conſtable of Windſor-caſtle.

But theſe offices and dignities already rehearſed, and thoſe of the like nature, which ſhall after be ſet down in their place, were but the facings, or fringes, of his greatneſs, in compariſon of that truſt which his moſt gracious maſter did caſt upon him in the one-and-twentieth year of his reign, when he made him the chief concomitant of his heir apparent, and only ſon, Charles, prince of Wales, in a journey of much adventure, and which (to ſhew the ſtrength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his Majeſty's moſt reſerved counſellors at home, being carried with great cloſeneſs, liker a buſineſs of love than ſtate; as it was in the firſt intendment.

They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tueſday the eighteenth of February, from the marquis his houſe, of late purchaſe, at New-hall in Eſſex, ſetting out with diſguiſed beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith. And then attended with none, but Sir Richard Greham, maſter of the horſe to the marquis, and of inward truſt about him. When they paſſed the river againſt Graveſend, for lack of ſilver, they were fain to give the ferry-man a piece of two-

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and-thirty ſhillings, which ſtruck the poor fellow into ſuch a melting tenderneſs, that ſo good gentlemen ſhould be going (for ſo he ſuſpected) about ſome quarrel beyond ſea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town with what had befallen him, who ſent preſently poſt for their ſtay at Rocheſter, through which they were paſſed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were ſomewhat perplexed by eſpying the French ambaſſador, with the king's coach, and other attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach poſt hackneys to leap hedges.

At Canterbury, whither ſome voice (as it ſhould ſeem) was run on before, the mayor of the town came himſelf to ſeize on them, as they were taking freſh horſes, in a blunt manner, alledging firſt a warrant to ſtop them, from the council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner, maſter of the ceremonies, and laſtly, from Sir Henry Manwaring, then lieutenant of Dover-caſtle. At all which confuſed fictions, the marquis had no leiſure to laugh, but thought beſt to diſmaſk his beard, and ſo told him, that he was going covertly with ſuch ſlight company, to take a ſecret view (being admiral) of the forwardneſs of his Majeſty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow ſeas: this, with much ado, did ſomewhat handſomely heal the diſguiſement. On the way afterwards, the baggage poſt-boy, who had been at court, get (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was eaſily ſhut. To Dover, through bad horſes and thoſe petty impediments, they came not before ſix at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then ſecretary to the prince, now baron of Hanworth, and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had been ſent before to provide a veſſel for their tranſportation.

tion. The foresaid knight was conjoined for the nearness of his place on the prince's affairs; and for his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument, for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were at the first, the whole parade of his journey.

The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month, taking shipping at Dover about six of the clock, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Monstruel that night (like men of dispatch) and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one-and-twentieth. But some three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had seen at New market the prince and the marquis taking coach together with the king, and retaining such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Greham, who would needs persuade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter, for the very strangeness of the thing itself, and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a prince and favourite so suddenly metamorphosed into travellers, with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his senses.

At Paris, the prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a neighbour to his future estates. But for their better veiling of their visages, his highness and the marquis bought each of them a periwig,

periwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the king they got a sight after dinner in a gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures. And of the queen-mother as she was at her own table; in neither place descried, no, not by monsieur Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a meer chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full sight of the queen-infanta, and of the princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practice of a masquing dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two gentlemen who were tending towards that sight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the duke De Mount Bason, the queen's lord-chamberlain, out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the French went by.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from Paris, the twenty-third of February, were spent six days at Bayone, the last town of France, having, before, at Bourdeaux, bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of noble simplicity; where Sir Francis Cottington was employed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the duke De Espernon, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the world) have pierced somewhat deeper than their out-side.

They were now entered into the deep time of lent, and could get no flesh in their inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage: there was near Bayone, an herd of goats with their young ones, upon which sight, the said Sir Richard Greham tells the marquis, he would snap one of the kids, and

and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging. Which the prince over-hearing, Why Richard, says he, do you think you may practice here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they first gave the goat-heard good contentment, and then while the marquis and his servant, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the stack, the prince from horseback killed him in the head with a Scottish pistol.

At Bayone, the count De Gramont, governor of that jealous key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after this they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday the fifth of March. Having gone thus far, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young nobles and others from hence into Spain, after the voice of our prince's being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed; neither will it be necessary to consider the arts of Rome, where now all engines were whetted (though by the divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a prince of Great-Britain upon catholic ground, as they use to call it.

This, and the whole matter of negociation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the apprehension on both sides, the appearance on neither; and in sum, all the circumstances and respect of religion and state intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a royal history, or a council-table, than a single life. Yet we cannot omit some things which intervened at the meeting of the two Pleiades, not unlike that which astrologers call a conjunction of planets, of no very benign aspect the one to the other; the marquis

of

of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had ſome ſharper and ſome milder differences, which might eaſily happen in ſuch an intervene of grandees, both vehement on the parts which they ſwayed. But the moſt remarkable was upon ſuppoſition of the Conde's, that the marquiſs had intimated unto him ſome hopes of the prince's converſion; which coming into debate, the marquiſs ſo roundly diſavowed this gilded dream, as Olivares alledged he had given him La-Mentida, and thereupon forms a complaint to the prince himſelf; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares perſiſting in the ſaid complaint, the marquiſs, though now in ſtrange hands, yet ſeeing both his honour and the truth at ſtake, was not tender likewiſe to engage his life, but replied with ſome heat, that the Conde's aſſeveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himſelf tied in terms of a gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative, in any ſort whatſoever. This was the higheſt and the harſheſt point that occurred between them; which that it went ſo far, was not the duke's fault; nor his fault neither (as it ſhould ſeem) that it went no farther. There was another memorable paſſage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The Conde d'Olivares told the marquiſs of a certain flying noiſe, that the prince did plot to be ſecretly gone: to which the marquiſs gave a well-tempered anſwer, That though love had made his highneſs ſteal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain in other manner than ſhould become a prince of his royal and generous virtues.

In Spain they ſtayed near eight entire months, during all which time, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? Which yet, at the prince's ſafe arrival in the Weſt, did die,

die, and vaniſh here and there into praiſes and eulogies, according to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now, to ſum up the fruit of the journey, diſcourſes ran thus among the cleareſt obſervers. It was ſaid, that the prince himſelf, without any imaginable ſtain of his religion, had by the ſight of foreign courts, and obſervations of the different natures of people, and the rules of government, much excited and awakened his ſpirits, and corroborated his judgment. And as for the marquiſs, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained: Firſt, he was returned with increaſe of title, having there been made duke, by patent ſent him, which was the higheſt degree whereof an Engliſh ſubject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though cloſer; for by ſo long and ſo private, and ſo various conſociation with a prince of ſuch excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own fortune and greatneſs; whereas otherwiſe the eſtate of a favourite is but at beſt a tenant at will, and rarely tranſmitted. But concerning the Spaniſh commiſſion, which in public conceit was the main ſcope of the journey, that was left in great ſuſpence, and after ſome time utterly laid aſide; which threw the duke, amongſt free wits, under cenſures.

The moſt part were apt to believe, that he had brought down ſome deep diſtaſte from Spain, which exaſperated his counſels; neither was there wanting ſome other that thought him not altogether void of a little ambition, to ſhew his power either to knit or diſſolve.

Howſoever, the whole ſcene of affairs was changed from Spain to France; there now lay the proſpective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of ſtate being ever attributed to the powerfulleſt under princes, the duke became ſuddenly

denly and ſtrangely gracious among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; ſo as he did ſeem for a time to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which, in the experience of all ages, hath been noted between the vulgar and the ſovereign favour. But this was no more than a mere bubble or blaſt, and, like an ephemeral fit of applauſe, as will appear in the ſequel of his life.

After his return from Spain, he was made lord-warden of the cinque-ports, (which is, as it were, a ſecond admiralty) and ſteward likewiſe of the manour of Hampton-court. Dignities and offices ſtill growing of truſt or profit; and the king now giving not only out of beneficent diſpoſition, but a very habitual and confirmed cuſtom.

One year, ſix months, and two days after the joyful reception of the prince his ſon from Spain, king James accompliſhed at Theobalds his own days on earth. Under whom the duke had run a long courſe of calm and ſmooth proſperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, becauſe it had been without any viſible eclipſe or wave in himſelf, amidſt divers variations in others.

The moſt important and preſſing care of a new and vigorous king, was his marriage, for an immediate eſtabliſhment of the royal line; wherein the duke having had an eſpecial hand, he was ſent to conduct hither the princeſs Henrietta Maria, youngeſt daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon; of whom his Majeſty, as hath been ſaid, had an ambulatory view in his travels. He was accompanied with no peer but the earl of Montgomery.

Now this embaſſy, though it had a private ſhew, being charged with more formality than matter (for all the eſſential conditions were before concluded)

cluded) could howſoever want no ornaments or bravery to adorn it. Among which, it is worthy of a little remembrance, that the duke, one ſolemn day, gorgeouſly clad in a ſuit all over ſpread with diamonds, and having loſt one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was ſtrangely recovered again the next morning in a court full of pages: ſuch a diligent attendant was fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair diſcharge, all civil honours having ſhowered on him before, there now fell out great occaſions to draw forth his ſpirits into action; by a breach firſt with Spain, and not long after with France itſelf, notwithſtanding ſo ſtrait an affinity ſo lately treated with the one, and actually accompliſhed with the other: as if, indeed, according to that pleaſant maxim of ſtate, kingdoms were never married. This muſt of neceſſity involve the duke in buſineſs enough to have overſet a leſſer veſſel, being the next commander under the crown of ports and ſhips.

But he was noted willingly to embrace thoſe overtures of public employment: for, at the parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in maritime ſervice had ſomewhat been ſhrewdly touched, even before the ſluices and floodgates of popular liberty were yet ſet open: ſo, as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his Majeſty's untroubled and ſerene commands, even in a tempeſtuous time.

Now the men fell a rubbing of armour, which a great while had lain oiled; the magazines of munition were viewed; the officers of remains called to account; frequent councils of war, as many private conferences with expert ſeamen; a fleet in preparation for ſome attempt upon Spain; the

the duke himself personally employed to the states-general; and with him joined, in full commission, the earl of Holland, a peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable virtue for public use.

These two nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundered, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter into a treaty, both with the states themselves, and with the ministers of divers allied and confederate princes, about a common diversion for the recovery of the palatinate where the king's only sister's dowry had been ravished by the German eagle, mixed with Spanish feathers: a princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of fortune.

Here it were injurious to overslip a noble act in the duke during this employment. There was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent linguist. These had been left to the widow of the said Erpenius, and were upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp, liquorish chapmen of such ware, whereof the duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned secretary, doctor Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five hundred pounds; a sum above their weight in silver; and a mixed act both of bounty and charity; the more laudable by being out of his natural element. These were they which, after his death, were as nobly presented as they had been bought, to the university of Cambridge, by the duchess dowager, as soon as she understood, by the aforesaid doctor Mason, her husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise to raise in the said uni-

verſity, whereof he was chancellor, a fair caſe for ſuch monuments, and to furniſh it with other choice collections from all parts, at his own charge.

The aforeſaid negotiation, though proſecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the duke's return; and then at home he met no good news of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had ſpent much ſolicitude, ex officio, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late ſetting out, and by ſome contrariety of weather at ſea; whereby the particular deſign took vent before hand; a point hardly avoidable in actions of noiſe, eſpecially where the great Indian key to all cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the king, pondering in his wiſdom the weight of his foreign affairs, found it fit to call a parliament at Weſtminſter. This was that aſſembly where there appeared a ſudden and marvellous converſion in the duke's caſe, from the moſt exalted (as he had been both in another parliament, and in common voice before) to the moſt depreſſed now; as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities: and it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was ſo freſhly returned out of the Low-country provinces, out of a meritorious employment in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the ſingle example that our annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pool, duke of Suffolk, under Henry VI. of ſuch a concurrence of two extremes, within ſo ſhort a time, by moſt of the ſame commenders and diſprovers.

This ſtrange phænomenon began from a travelled doctor of phyſic, of bold ſpirit and of able elocution; who, being returned one of the burgeſſes, which was not ordinary in one of his coat, fell, by a metaphorical alluſion, tranſlated from his

his own faculty, to propound the duke's as a main cauſe of many infirmities in the ſtate, or near that purpoſe; being ſure enough of ſeconds, after the firſt onſet, in the lower houſe. As for any cloſe intelligence that they had before-hand with ſome in the higher, though that likewiſe was ſaid, there wants ground to affirm, or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongſt thoſe that were neareſt the object, which we ſee ſo familiar, both in natural and moral cauſes.

The duke's anſwers to his appeachments, in number thirteen, were very diligently and civily couched; and, though his heart was big, yet they all ſavour of an humble ſpirit, one way, equitable conſideration, which could not but poſſeſs every vulgar conceit, and ſomewhat allay the whole matter; that, in the bolting and ſifting of near fourteen years of ſuch power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure, and white, and fine meal; but muſt needs have withal among it a certain mixture of padar and bran, in this lower age of human fragility. Howſoever this tempeſt did only ſhake and not rent his ſails: for his Majeſty, conſidering that almoſt all his appeachments were without the compaſs of his own reign; and, moreover, that nothing alleged againſt him had, or could be, proved by oath, according to the conſtitution of the houſe of commons; which the duke himſelf did not forget in the preface of his anſwers: and, laſtly, having had ſuch experience of his fidelity, and obſervance abroad, where he was chief in truſt, and in the participation of all hazards; found himſelf engaged in honour, and in the ſenſe of his own natural goodneſs, to ſupport him at home from any further inquietude, and too dear buy his higheſt teſtimonies of divers

important imputations; whereof the truth is best known to his Majesty while he was prince.

The summer following this parliament, after an embargo on our trading ships in the river of Bourdeaux, and other points of sovereign affront, there succeeded the action of Rheez, wherein the duke was personally employed on either element, both as admiral and general, with hope in that service to recover the public good-will, which he saw, by his own example, might quickly be won and lost. This action found more honourable censure, even from some of the French writers, than it had generally amongst ourselves at home: as, touching the duke's own deportment in that island, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if Fortune had meant we should quickly be friends again.

The duke's carriage was surely noble throughout. To the gentlemen, of fair respect; bountiful to the soldier, according to any special value which he spied in any; tender and careful of those that were hurt; of unquestionable courage in himself, and rather fearful of fame than danger. In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the succours which he expected did fail him; but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions: for certain it is, that, to his often mentioned secretary, doctor Mason, whom he laid in a pallet near him, for natural ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate irruptions, protesting, that never his dispatches to divers princes, nor the great business of a fleet, of an army, of a siege, of a treaty, of war, of peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did

not

not so much break his repose, as a conceit, that some at home, under his Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him.

Of their two forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but, in the general town, he maintained a seizure and possession of the whole three months and eighteen days; and, at the first descent on shore, he was not immured with a wooden vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long-boat; where succeeded such a defeat of near two hundred horse, (and these not, by his guess, mounted in haste, but the most part gentlemen of family and great resolution) seconded with two thousand foot, as all circumstances well balanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest impressions in antient time.

In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience, having brought of that with him to camp, perchance, too much from a court where fortune had never deceived him. Besides, we must consider him yet but rude in the profession of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause.

At his return to Plymouth, a strange accident befel him; perchance not so worthy of memory for itself, as for that it seemeth to have a kind of prelude to his final period.

Lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sent to the duke, in all expedition, an express messenger, with advisement, to assure his own person by declining the ordinary road to London; for, that he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the court.

The duke meeting the meſſenger on the way, read the letter, and ſmothering it in his pocket, without the leaſt imaginable apprehenſion, rode forward, his company being, about that time, not above ſeven or eight in number, and thoſe no otherwiſe provided for their defence than with ordinary ſwords.

After this, the duke had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman, near a town in the road, who demanded, whether the duke were in the company? and bewraying ſome eſpecial occaſion to be brought to him, was led to his horſeſide; where ſhe told him, that, in the very next town where he was to paſs, ſhe had heard ſome deſperate men vow his death; and thereupon would have directed him about by a ſurer way.

This old woman's caſual acceſs, joined with that deliberate advertiſement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the ſaid letter, and all the circumſtances, with his company; who were jointly upon conſent that the woman had adviſed him well. Notwithſtanding all which importunity, he reſolved not to wave his way upon this reaſon, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he ſaid, he ſhould but once, by ſuch a diverſion, make his enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he ſhould never live without.

Hereupon his young nephew, lord viſcount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble ſpirit, beſought him, that he would, at leaſt, honour him with his coat and blue ribbon, thorough the town, pleading his uncle's life, whereupon lay the property of his whole family, was of all things under Heaven, the moſt precious unto him; and undertaking ſo to geſture and muffle up himſelf in his hood, as the duke's manner was to

ride

ride in cold weather, that none ſhould diſcern him from him; and ſo he ſhould be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which ſweet propoſition, the duke caught him in his arms, and kiſſed him; yet would not, as he ſaid, accept of ſuch an offer from a nephew, whoſe life he tendered as much as himſelf; and ſo liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good-will. After ſome ſhort directions to his company, how they ſhould carry themſelves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no ſooner entered into the town, but a ſcamling ſoldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance ſomewhat worſe) in a drunken faſhion; yet a gentleman of his train that rode a pretty diſtance behind him, conceiving by the premiſes it might be a beginning of ſome miſchievous intent, ſpurred up his horſe, and with a violent ruſh ſevered him from the duke, who with the reſt went on quickly through the town: neither was there any further enquiry into that practice, the duke, peradventure, thinking it wiſdom not to reſent diſcontentments too deep.

At his return to the court he found no change in faces, but ſmothered murmurings for the loſs of ſo many gallant gentlemen; againſt which his friends did oppoſe in their diſcourſes the chance of war, together with a gentle expectation for want of ſupply in time. But after the complaints in parliament, and the unfortunate iſſue at *Rhee*, the duke's fame fell more and more in obloquy among the maſs of people, whoſe judgments are only reconciled with good ſucceſſes: ſo as he ſaw plainly that he muſt abroad again to rectify by his beſt endeavour under the public ſervice, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at ſea. And in the mean while, he was not un-

mindful in his civil courſe, to caſt an eye upon the ways, to win unto him ſuch as have been of principal credit in the lower houſe of parliament, applying lenitives, or ſubducting from that part where he knew the humours were ſharpeſt: amidſt which thoughts, he was ſurpriſed with a fatal ſtroke, written in the black book of neceſſity.

There was a younger brother, of mean fortune, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep, melancholy, ſilent, and gloomy conſtitution, but bred in the active way of a ſoldier; and thereby raiſed to the place of lieutenant to a company of foot, in the regiment of Sir James Ramſey. This was the man that cloſely within himſelf had conceived the duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greateſt motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was ſaid at firſt, that he had been ſtung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the duke, before he would inveſt him in the ſaid place, adviſing firſt (as his manner was) with his colonel; he found him to interpoſe for one Powel, his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to military cuſtom, the place was good, that the lieutenant of the colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant captainſhip, under the ſame regiment. Which Felton acknowledged to be in itſelf very uſual and equitable, beſides the ſpecial merit of the perſon. So as the aforeſaid conceit of ſome rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a knight of the ſame county (whom the duke had lately taken into ſome good degree of favour) and the ſaid Felton, there had been ancient quarrels, not yet well

healed,

healed, which might perhaps lie feſtering in his breaſt, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect. But that carries ſmall probability, that Felton would ſo deface his own act, as to make the duke no more than an oblique ſacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third perſon.

Therefore the truth is, that, either to honeſt a deed after it was done, or to ſlumber his conſcience in the doing, he ſtudied other incentives, alleging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir Richard Greſham, two only inducements thereof. The firſt, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book, written by one Eggleſtone, a Scottiſh phyſician, which made the duke one of the fouleſt monſters upon earth; and indeed, unworthy not only of life in a Chriſtian court, and under ſo virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the leaſt ſemblance of truth. The ſecond was, the remonſtrance itſelf of the lower houſe of parliament againſt him, which perchance, he thought the faireſt cover, ſo he put in the ſecond place. Whatſoever were the true motives, which none can determine but the prince of darkneſs itſelf, he did thus proſecute the effect.

In a by-cutler's ſhop on Tower-hill, he bought a ten-penny knife, and the ſheath thereof he ſewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made ſhift, partly as it is ſaid, on horſeback, and partly on foot, to get to Portſmouth, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his deſperation. At Portſmouth on Saturday, being the 23d of Auguſt of that current year, he preſſed without any ſuſpicion in ſuch a time of ſo many pretenders to employment, into an inward chamber,

where the duke was at breakfaſt (the laſt of his repaſts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with monſieur de Soubes, and Sir Thomas Fryer. And there, a little before the duke's riſing from the table, he went and ſtood expecting till he ſhould paſs through a kind of lobby, between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which paſſage, as I conceive, ſomewhat darker than the chamber which he voided, while the duke came, with Sir Thomas Fryer cloſe at his ear, in the very moment as the ſaid knight withdrew himſelf from the duke, this aſſaſſin gave him, with a back blow, a deep wound in his left ſide, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke himſelf pulling out, on a ſudden effuſion of ſpirits, he ſunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired.

Certain it is, that ſome good while before, Sir Clement Throgmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had in a private conference adviſed him to wear a privy-coat, whoſe council the duke received very kindly; but gave him this anſwer, that againſt any popular fury, a ſhirt of mail would be but a ſilly defence; and for any ſingle man's aſſault, he took himſelf to be in no danger. So dark is deſtiny.

One thing in this enormous accident is beyond all wonder: That within the ſpace of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the firſt room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, not more than if it had lain in the ſands of Æthiopia; whereas commonly, in ſuch caſes, you ſhall note every where a great and ſudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to ſee. But it ſhould ſeem the very horror of the fact had ſtupified all curioſity,

curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer himself might have escaped (who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the house below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame, or an illustrious infamy. Thus died this great peer, in the 36th year of his age compleat, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependence upon him, the house, and town full of servants and suitors, his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of bed; and the court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

As to any ominous presagement before his end, it is reported, that being to take his leave of my lord's grace of Canterbury, then bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the king's unchangeable affection by his own great abilities; after courtesies of course had passed between them: My lord, says the duke, I know your lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the king our sovereign, let me pray you to put his majesty in mind to be good, as I noways distrust, to my poor wife and children. At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my lord bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him, whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. No, replied the duke, but I think some adventure may kill me, as well as another man.

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the king was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, after much serious and private discourse,

courſe, the duke, at his majeſty's departing, embraced him in a very unuſual and paſſionate manner, and in like ſort his friend the earl of Holland, as if his ſoul had divined he ſhould ſee them no more: which infuſions towards fatal ends, has been obſerved by ſome authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the counteſs of Denbigh received a letter from him; whereunto all the while ſhe was writing her anſwer, ſhe bedewed the paper with her tears; and after a moſt bitter paſſion (whereof ſhe could yield no reaſon, but that her deareſt brother was to be gone) ſhe fell down in a ſwoon. Her ſaid letter ended thus: "I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bleſs you."

The day following, the Biſhop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fitteſt preparer of her mind to receive ſuch a doleful accident, came to viſit her: but hearing ſhe was at reſt, he attended till ſhe ſhould awake of herſelf, which ſhe did with the affrightment of a dream. Her brother ſeemed to paſs through a field with her, in her coach; where hearing a ſudden ſhout of the people, and aſking the reaſon, it was anſwered to have been for joy that the duke of Buckingham was ſick. Which natural impreſſion ſhe ſcarce had related unto her gentlewoman, before the biſhop was entered into her bedchamber for a choſen meſſenger of the duke's death.

But the moſt remarkable inſtance of all is the famous ſtory of the apparition, which we have from lord Clarendon.

"There was an officer in the king's wardrobe in Windſor Caſtle, of a good reputation for honeſty

neſty and diſcretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more.

" This man had in his youth been bred in a ſchool in the pariſh where Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cheriſhed and obliged in that ſeaſon of his age by the ſaid Sir George, whom afterwards he never ſaw.

" About ſix months before the miſerable end of the duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windſor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him on the ſide of his bed, a man of a very venerable aſpect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and fixing his eyes upon him, aſked him if he knew him.

" The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehenſion, being aſked the ſecond time, whether he remembered him, and having in that time called to his memory the preſence of Sir George Villiers, and the very cloaths he uſed to wear, in which at that time he ſeemed to be habited, he anſwered him, that he thought him to be that perſon; he replied, he was in the right, that he was the ſame, and that he expected a ſervice from him, which was, that he ſhould go from him, to his ſon the duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not ſomewhat to ingratiate himſelf to the people, or at leaſt to abate the extreme malice which they had againſt him, he would be ſuffered to live but a ſhort time.

" After this diſcourſe he diſappeared, and the poor man (if he had been at all waking) ſlept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and conſidered it no otherwiſe.

" The next night, or ſhortly after, the ſame perſon appeared to him again, in the ſame place, and

and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him, whether he had done as he had required of him; and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions, told him he expected more compliance from him, and that if he did not perform his commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind; but should always be pursued by him: upon which he promised him to obey. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was still willing to persuade himself that he had only dreamed, and considered that he was a person at such a distance from the duke, that he knew not how to find out any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say; so with great trouble and unquietness he spent some time in thinking what he should do: and in the end, resolved to do nothing in the matter.

"The same person appeared to him the third time with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had, by this time, recovered the courage to tell him, that in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon considering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the duke, having acquaintance with no person about him; and if he should obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him that he was sent in such a manner; that he should at least be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed by his own, or the malice of other men to abuse the duke; and so he should be sure to be undone.

"The person replied, as he had done before, that he should never find rest till he should perform what

what he had required, and therefore he were better to diſpatch it; that the acceſs to his ſon was known to be very eaſy, and that few men waited long for him; and for the gaining him credit he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any perſon living but to the duke himſelf; and he ſhould no ſooner hear them but he ſhould believe all the reſt he ſhould ſay; and ſo repeating his threats, he left him.

"In the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the laſt appearance, made his journey to London, where the court then was: he was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the maſters of requeſts, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himſelf well received by him: to him this man went, and though he did not acquaint him with all the particulars, he ſaid enough to let him know there was ſomething extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the ſobriety and diſcretion of the man, made the more impreſſion on him: he deſired that by his means he might be brought to the duke, in ſuch a place and in ſuch a manner as ſhould be thought fit, affirming that he had much to ſay to him, and of ſuch a nature as would require much privacy, and ſome time and patience in the hearing.

"Sir Ralph promiſed he would ſpeak firſt with the duke of him, and then he ſhould underſtand his pleaſure; and accordingly, the firſt opportunity he did inform him of the reputation and honeſty of the man, and then what he deſired, and of all he knew of the matter.

"The duke, according to his uſual openneſs and condeſcenſion, told him, that he was the next day early to hunt with the king; that his horſes ſhould attend him at Lambeth-bridge, where he ſhould land by five of the clock in the morning; and

and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and speak with him as long as should be necessary.

"Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the duke at his landing, who received him courteously, and walked aside in conference near an hour; none but his own servants being at that hour in that place; and they and Sir Ralph at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the duke sometimes spoke loud, and with great emotion, which Sir Ralph the more easily observed and perceived, because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke, having procured the conference upon somewhat he knew was extraordinary.

"The man told him, in his return over the water, that when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit (the substance whereof he said he durst not impart unto him) the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come at that knowledge only by the devil, for that those particulars were only known to himself and to one person more, who he was sure would never speak of it.

"The duke pursued his purpose of hunting, but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon; and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms. And when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before observed in him in any conversation with her, towards whom he

he had a profound reverence; and the countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Compton, she had been created countess of Buckingham shortly after her son had assumed that title) was at the duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.

"Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within a few months after) was brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised, but received it as she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son."

This story is related with some little circumstantial difference by several considerable authors, who all seem to agree in the most material parts of it.

Fame, though with some privacy, says, that the secret token was an incestuous breach of modesty between the duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it surprised the duke to hear of; and that as he thought he had good reasons to be sure the lady would not tell it of herself, so he thought none but the devil could tell it besides her; and this astonished him, so that he was very far from receiving the man slightly, or laughing at his message.

He took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the lady Catherine Manners, heir general to the noble house of Rutland, who, besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons and a daughter, called the lady Mary, his first born; his eldest son died at nurse, before his journey to Rheez; and his third, the lord Francis, was born after his father's death; so as neither

his

his firſt nor his laſt were participant of any ſenſe of his misfortunes or felicities: his ſecond ſon, now duke of Buckingham, was born to chear him on his return from that unlucky voyage.

For theſe ſweet pledges, and no leſs for the unqueſtionable virtues of her perſon and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expreſſed his love in an act and time of no ſimulation, towards his end, bequeathing her all his manſion-houſes during her natural life, and a power to diſpoſe of his whole perſonal eſtate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure; he left his elder brother of the ſame womb a viſcount, and his younger brother an earl; Sir Edward Villiers, his half-brother on the father's ſide, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his ſtep-mother's eye to the preſidentſhip; where he lived in ſingular eſtimation for his juſtice and hoſpitality; and died with as much grief of the whole province, as ever any governor did (before his religious lady of ſweet and noble diſpoſition) adding much to his honour. The eldeſt of the brethren, and heir of the name, was made a baronet, but abſtained from court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatneſs of ſelf-fruition.

He left his mother a counteſs by patent in her own perſon, which was a new leading example, grown before ſomewhat rare, ſince the days of queen Mary. His ſiſter of Denbigh (that right character of a good lady) he moſt humbly recommended to the queen; who after a diſcharge of ſome French ladies in her court that were to return, took her into three ſeveral places of honour and truſt.

In ſhort, not to inſiſt on every particular branch of thoſe private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, deſcending of the

the name of Villiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with peers of the realm actually, or hopefully with earls ſons and heirs; or at leaſt with knights, or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition: he did not much ſtrengthen his own ſubſiſtence in court, but ſtood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the moſt of his allies rather leaned upon him, than ſhoared him up. His familiar ſervants, either about his perſon in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of ſtate, as his ſecretaries; or of office, as his ſteward; or of law, as that worthy knight whom he long uſed to ſolicit his cauſes; he left all, both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame.

The LIFE of

GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1562, to 1633.]

THIS eminent prelate was the ſon of Maurice Abbot, a clothworker, who ſuffered great hardſhips for his inviolable attachment to the proteſtant faith in the reign of queen Mary, being perſecuted by Dr. Story, an active bigot in thoſe unhappy days: he reſided at Guildford in Surrey, where his ſon George

George was born in the year 1562. He received the firſt rudiments of education from Mr. Francis Taylor, maſter of the free-grammar ſchool at Guildford, founded by Edward VI. From thence he was removed to Baliol-college, Oxford. In 1583, he was choſen probationer-fellow of that college, and having entered into holy orders ſoon after, he became a celebrated preacher. In 1593, he took the degree of batchelor in divinity, and in 1597 that of doctor; the ſame year he was likewiſe elected maſter of Univerſity-college.

It was about this time that a diſagreement aroſe between our young divine and the famous William Laud, his ſucceſſor in the metropolitan chair; they very early conſidered each other as rivals; and Laud having advanced ſome tenets in his exerciſes at the univerſity, which favoured the doctrines of the Romiſh church, Abbot publicly branded him for a Papiſt, which was ſo highly reſented by Laud, that their averſion to each other laſted for life.

In 1599, Dr. Abbot was made dean of Wincheſter, and the following year he had the honour to be elected vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; and he was ſo highly approved of, that he was choſen a ſecond and third time, in the years 1603 and 1605. The tranſlation of the Bible now in uſe, was begun by command of king James I. in 1604; and Dr. Abbot being one of the eight able divines who were employed by the king to undertake this arduous taſk, the whole of the New Teſtament (except the epiſtles) fell to his ſhare. Yet this did not prevent his publiſhing, that year, an anſwer to Dr. Hill's reaſons for upholding popery.

Upon the death of his firſt patron the earl of Dorſet, in 1608, Dr. Abbot became chaplain to George

George Hume, earl of Dunbar, and treasurer of Scotland, with whom he went to that kingdom to assist in establishing an union betwixt the churches of England and Scotland; and upon this important subject he manifested such address, moderation, sound judgment, and learning, that it laid the foundation of his future fortune. For king James had suffered so much by the spirit and influence of the presbyterians in Scotland, that he was determined, at all events, to restore episcopacy; and the management of this business was left to the earl of Dunbar, who met with so powerful an opposition to this measure, that he was on the point of giving it up, when by the skilful conduct of Dr. Abbot, an accommodation was brought about; and bishops were allowed to form a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of the kirk of Scotland; but their powers and privileges were limited by articles agreed on between the earl of Dunbar and the clergy of Scotland, which were ratified by the parliament of that kingdom. While he was at Edinburgh, a prosecution was commenced against one George Sprot, for having been concerned in Gowry's conspiracy eight years before. A long account of this affair, with a narrative prefixed by Dr. Abbot, was published at London to satisfy the public about this matter, which had hitherto appeared doubtful and mysterious. In fine, Dr. Abbot's whole conduct in Scotland was highly commended by the king, who after his return placed great confidence in him, and began to ask his advice upon affairs of state; and when his Majesty was called upon by all his allies, to concur in the treaty between the states of Holland and Spain, after consulting the convocation upon the subject, he wrote a letter to Dr. Abbot, which is still extant, requiring his private opinion on the same matter.

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Upon the death of Dr. Overton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, the king promoted Dr. Abbot to the vacant see, and he was accordingly consecrated bishop of those united sees in December 1609. But in little more than a month after, he was translated to the see of London, which became vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Ravis; and before the expiration of the year 1610, he attained the summit of ecclesiastical dignity in England, for upon the death of Dr. Richard Sancroft in the month of November, his Majesty, as a testimony of his very great esteem for our prelate, advanced him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. And from this time, he had a principal share in the administration of government, with the entire approbation of the people, whose esteem for him was equal to his great merit. Yet he never forgot himself in his high station, nor appeared to be fond of that power, which had so rapidly fallen to his lot before he was fifty years of age: neither did he extend the prerogatives of a primate beyond their due bounds; for he was a man of cool temper and moderation in his principles, which displeased the high church party, who thought the church in great danger from the humanity and candour he shewed to those who dissented from the establishment. But regardless of the clamours of his enemies, he persisted in one steady uniform course of conduct; and when the rights of the church were really invaded, he maintained them with great resolution, particularly in the case of the prohibitions set forth by Sir Edward Coke, against the jurisdiction and authority of the high commission court.

The archbishop's zeal for the interests of the protestant religion, made him a strenuous promoter of the marriage between the elector palatine and the princess Elizabeth, king James's daughter; and the

the elector arriving in England at the beginning of the year 1612, his grace invited the nobility who attended on him, to an entertainment at his palace at Lambeth, which the elector himſelf unexpectedly honoured with his preſence as a mark of his great reſpect for the archbiſhop. The marriage was ſolemnized ſoon after with great ſplendour, the archbiſhop performing the ceremony on a ſtage erected for the purpoſe in the middle of the royal chapel at St. James's. In April, his electoral highneſs left England, but before his departure, he made the archbiſhop a preſent in plate, to the value of 1000*l.* and as a further teſtimony of his regard for, and confidence in him, he explained to him in a private letter, the cauſe of his leaving England in diſguſt; which was a refuſal on the part of the king to releaſe the lord Grey from his impriſonment in the Tower, though the elector warmly ſolicited it. It appears likewiſe that he was denied ſome other requeſts, which made him complain that the king treated him not upon the reſpectable footing of a ſon and a prince, but rather like a childiſh youth, whoſe demands were not to be regarded.

It was about this time, that the celebrated civilian Hugo Grotius, author of the famous tracts *de jure bello & pacis*, came over to England, to endeavour to give king James a more favourable opinion of the remonſtrants, by which name the ſect of Arminians in Holland then began to diſtinguiſh themſelves; of whom it appears, that neither our archbiſhop, nor the reſt of the miniſtry, nor even James himſelf, entertained any high opinion; they looked upon him as a ſingular man, a pedant, and partial to the laws, cuſtoms and manners of his own country, no wonder therefore, that he failed in his negociation.

In 1613, an event happened, which considerably diminished that cordial esteem the king had always testified for the archbishop. The case was this, the lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, had been married at thirteen years of age to the earl of Essex, who being only fourteen, was sent abroad on his travels, the lady remaining at home, and frequenting the court. This gave Robert Ker, viscount Rochester, the king's favourite, an opportunity of seducing the countess; and having entirely gained her affections, upon her husband's return she instituted a suit against him in the ecclesiastical court, praying to be divorced from him, on a charge of impotency. The king countenanced this wicked artifice, and our incorruptible archbishop could not, by any means whatever, be brought over to give his consent to the divorce. The cause was tried by a court of delegates, consisting of bishops and civilians, and the sentence of divorce was carried by a majority of two bishops devoted to the court. The people loudly exclaimed against the king for his infamous conduct in this affair, and even lord Rochester's best friends reproached him severely for such an act of perfidy and baseness. But the king, to shew his approbation of the divorce, caused the marriage between his favourite and the countess of Essex to be solemnized soon after in the royal chapel; and that the countess might not lose her rank, he created the lord Rochester, earl of Somerset. Yet neither the sanction of James, nor the adulations of a corrupt court, could stifle the horrors of reflection, which were kept alive by the constant remonstrances of Sir Thomas Overbury, a most worthy gentleman, and Somerset's sincere friend: he had used his best endeavour to prevent the fatal match, and failing in his laudable design, he did not scruple to impute

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this alliance to intemperate lust on the part of the countess, who, fired to madness at the bad opinion conceived of her by the public, instigated her new husband to proceed from one crime to another; and by their contrivance, Sir Thomas Overbury was sent to the Tower, for a supposed affront offered to the king, in refusing to go on an embassy to a climate which he knew would not agree with his constitution. Having thus secured their victim, it was not long before the guilty couple caused him to be poisoned; but this murder was charged home upon them, they were tried and condemned, but pardoned by the king in 1624. However, the disgrace of Somerset was the immediate consequence, and they both lived obscure and wretched from this time.

In 1616, the archbishop of Spoletto in Italy came over to England, and was introduced to our prelate, who had the honour to convert him to the protestant faith, upon which he gave him considerable preferment in the church of England; but after five years residence, he went over to Italy, and was reconciled again to the church of Rome.

About two years after, the archbishop gave a fresh proof of his piety and resolution in forbidding the book of Sports to be read at Croydon, though the king had expressly ordered that it should be read in all churches and chapels. We shall have occasion hereafter to mention this book of Sports as one of the causes of the misfortunes of Charles I. It may therefore suffice to observe in this place, that certain sports and pastimes were permitted by authority on the Sabbath-day, after evening service; but being once authorized, it was a natural consequence easy to be foreseen, that the common people would not confine them to any particular time of the day; and accordingly, this publication

occasioned scenes of riot, confusion, and indecency, which disturbed the order and decorum of the whole day, and gave great offence to all well-disposed, devout christians.

In 1619, Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the first stone of the hospital at Guildford in Surrey, which the archbishop endowed with lands to the value of three hundred pounds per annum, one hundred of which is employed in setting the poor to work, and the remainder for the maintenance of a master and twelve old men and women; and the 29th of October, being the anniversary of the birth of archbishop Abbot, is still commemorated at this hospital, of which the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being is visitor.

Towards the close of this year, the elector palatine accepted the crown of Bohemia, which occasioned great divisions in the councils of king James. Ferdinand, cousin to Matthias, emperor of Germany, had been elected the year before, by the intrigues of the court of Vienna, and was crowned this year king of Hungary. But the elector palatine was invited to the throne of Bohemia by the free voice of the people, and wanted only the powerful support of the protestant princes to maintain his election against Ferdinand. Independent of the interests of the protestant religion, it was natural to expect that James would powerfully assist his son-in-law; and upon every principle of sound policy he ought to have done it. These were the sentiments of our archbishop, who being ill in bed at this time, sent his opinion in writing to the privy-council. But the majority, who knew the dastardly temper of the king, and that he preferred inglorious ease and a forced peace, to drawing the sword, even for the best of causes, the interests of religion, and the preservation of the issue of his loins,

loins, adviſed his Majeſty not to interfere in this matter, becauſe it muſt inevitably produce a war with Germany. Thus the poor elector was abandoned, for the other proteſtant powers obſerving that England would not countenance him, withheld their promiſed ſuccour; and the prince, with a ſmall army, being ſurrounded by the Imperialiſts, was obliged to hazard the battle of Prague, on the 18th of November, when he ſuffered a total defeat; and being cloſely purſued by the enemy, was obliged not only to abandon Bohemia, but even his electoral dominions, which the emperor gave, together with the electoral title and honours, to the duke of Bavaria, a Roman catholic, and a deſcendant of a younger branch of the family of the vanquiſhed palatine. As for James, he was deſpiſed in every court of Europe for this baſe deſertion of his ſon-in-law; and the honour of England was ſullied during the remainder of this inglorious reign, by this ignominious tranſaction.

From this time, the archbiſhop's health began to decline, ſo that he led a retired life chiefly in the country; and in 1622, an unhappy accident happened, which added to his bodily infirmities, by the melancholy ſtate of mind into which it threw him. Having made a ſummer excurſion this year to Hampſhire, he was invited by lord Zouch to take the diverſion of hunting in Bramſhill-park; when Peter Hawkins, the park-keeper, haſtily running amongſt a herd of deer, to bring them up, that the company might have the fairer mark; the archbiſhop, who was on horſeback, diſcharged a barbed arrow from a croſs-bow, which unfortunately ſhot the keeper in the left-arm, and he died the next day. This misfortune greatly affected the ſpirits, and conſequently the health of the good old prelate; who, during the remainder of his life,

kept a monthly faſt on Tueſdays, in commemoration of the fatal miſchance, and he ſettled an annuity of twenty pounds for life on the widow.

But this misfortune had ſtill more afflicting conſequences, for his enemies endeavoured to leſſen him from this accident in the king's eſteem; but his Majeſty juſtly obſerved, that "an angel might have miſcarried in this ſort:" however, they would not be thus ſilenced, but ſome ambitious prieſts, who hoped to be exalted by a change in the archiepiſcopal ſee, repreſented that he had incurred an irregularity, and was thereby incapacitated for performing the office of a primate; upon which the king was under the neceſſity of appointing a commiſſion, which conſiſted of ten perſons, of the firſt rank, in the church, the law, and the ſtate, to enquire into this matter. The points referred to their deciſion were, 1. Whether the archbiſhop was *irregular* (a term in the canon-law) by the fact of involuntary homicide? 2. Whether that act might tend to ſcandal in a churchman? 3. How his grace ſhould be reſtored in caſe the commiſſioners ſhould find him irregular? It was unanimouſly agreed that, admitting the irregularity, (concerning which they were divided) he could not be reſtored but by the king, and they varied again reſpecting the mode of reſtitution. The biſhop of Wincheſter, the lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench, and Dr. Stewart the civilian, were of opinion it ſhould be done by the king alone. The lord-keeper of the great ſeals, (Dr. Williams, biſhop of Lincoln) the biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Exeter, and St. David's, were for a commiſſion from the king directed to the biſhops. Judge Doddridge, and Sir Henry Martin, wiſhed it might be done both ways, that it might be more effectual, and ſerve as a precedent. In the end, the king paſſed a pardon and diſpenſation,

penſation, by which he abſoiled the archbiſhop of all irregularity, ſcandal, or infamation, and declared him capable of all the authority of a primate.

But though the archbiſhop was completely reſtored, he ſeldom aſſiſted at the council after this event, the infirmities of an advanced age daily increaſing upon him. It appears however, that he ſometimes communicated his ſentiments to the king, on the meaſures of adminiſtration, with his uſual freedom and integrity; for in a letter preſerved by Ruſhworth, after having condemned a deſign which was then ſet on foot of granting a toleration to papiſts, he cenſures the king for his imprudence in permitting Charles prince of Wales to go to Spain, without the conſent of the council, or the knowledge and approbation of the people; ſenſibly reminding him, that though he had an intereſt in the prince as his ſon, yet the people had a greater, as the ſon of the kingdom, upon whom, next after him, their eyes were fixed, and their welfare depended. And with a prophetic ſpirit he foretells, that thoſe who drew him into an action ſo dangerous to himſelf, ſo deſperate to the nation, will not paſs unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. As theſe were his ſentiments, it is no wonder he had Buckingham for his enemy; but James ſo highly venerated his character, that the miniſter in vain attempted his diſgrace; for James, in his laſt illneſs, ſent for him, and the archbiſhop ſcarcely ſtirred from his chamber till he expired.

The archbiſhop had the honour to ſet the crown upon the head of the unfortunate Charles I. but this was a matter of mere form, and intended more to do honour to the king than the archbiſhop; for it had been a cuſtom, from time immemorial, that the primate ſhould perform this ſolemn office. But no ſooner was Charles ſeated on the throne, than

he countenanced Buckingham's design of displacing the good old archbishop, who, if his great age and infirmities had been considered, was a very improper object for resentment. However, the king did not love him, and Buckingham detested him; it was therefore resolved to remove him from court, and a favourable opportunity soon occurred.

A certain Dr. Sibthorpe, having preached a sermon at the Lent-assizes at Northampton in 1627, in which he maintained that the king might impose taxes upon the people, without consent of parliament, and that the people were bound in conscience to obey his will and pleasure; this doctrine was so pleasing to the king, that he ordered the sermon to be printed, and sent his directions to the archbishop to license it; but his grace having perused it, absolutely refused, and assigned his reasons, yet the sermon was licensed by the bishop of London; whereupon the secretary of state, lord Conway, made him a visit, and signified to him his Majesty's pleasure, that he should retire to Canterbury. But having at this time a law-suit depending against the corporation, he requested leave to withdraw to Ford, about five miles beyond Canterbury, which was granted; and in the month of October in the same year, the king issued a commission to the bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, empowering them to execute the archiepiscopal authority, and assigning as the sole cause, that the archbishop could not at that time attend those services personally, which were proper for his cognizance and direction. But the policy of the court would not suffer the archbishop to remain long in this state of sequestration and confinement, for he was beloved by the people; and the king being in want of money, it was necessary to call a parliament,

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and to reſtore his grace to the full poſſeſſion of his authority and juriſdiction, on account of his intereſt with the repreſentatives of the people. He was accordingly ſummoned to parliament, and the commiſſion of ſequeſtration was revoked. But the intereſt of Laud, then biſhop of Bath and Wells, became ſo powerful at court about this time, that the archbiſhop totally withdrew perceiving he was an unwelcome gueſt; and the laſt conteſt he had with his rivals and ſucceſſors in court-favour, was upon the following occaſion.

Laud drew up certain inſtructions to anſwer the purpoſes of the high-church party, which were tranſmitted to the archbiſhop, under the pompous title of, His Majeſty's Inſtructions to the moſt Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be obſerved and put in execution by the ſeveral biſhops in his province. His grace communicated them to his ſuffragan biſhops, but in ſeveral reſpects he endeavoured to ſoften their rigour, as they were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the church, which the archbiſhop conſidered as a hardſhip on thoſe who made the fundamentals of religion their ſtudy, and were not ſo zealous for forms. His conduct upon this and other occaſions was reſented by the king, and upon the birth of his ſon Charles, afterwards Charles II. Laud had the honour to baptize him. After this we hear no more of our archbiſhop till Auguſt 1633, when being worn out with cares and bodily infirmities, he died at Croydon. His remains were buried in the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where a ſtately monument was erected over the grave, with his effigies repoſed thereon in his archiepiſcopal robes.

He ſhewed himſelf, in moſt circumſtances of his life, a man of great moderation to all parties, and was deſirous that the clergy ſhould attract the eſteem of the laity, by the ſanctity of their manners, rather than claim it as due to their function. His principles and conduct however, not ſuiting the diſpoſitions of ſome writers, they have thought proper to make many ſevere reflections on both. Fuller, in his church hiſtory, ſays, "that he forſook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity more than the clergy, in cauſes that were brought before him." Mr. John Aubrey having tranſcribed the inſcription on the archbiſhop's monument, adds, "Notwithſtanding this moſt noble character tranſmitted to poſterity, he was, though a benefactor to this place, no friend to the church of England, whereof he was head, but ſcandalouſly permitted that poiſonous ſpirit of puritaniſm to ſpread over the whole nation by his indolence at leaſt, if not connivance and encouragement, which ſome years after broke out, and laid a flouriſhing church and ſtate in the moſt miſerable ruins; and which gave birth to thoſe principles, which, unleſs rooted out, will ever make this nation unhappy." The earl of Clarendon has drawn the following picture of this worthy prelate. "Abbot conſidered the Chriſtian religion no otherwiſe than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued thoſe men moſt who did that moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation of the diſcipline of the church, or the conformity of the articles or canons eſtabliſhed, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the ancient and ſolid ſtudy of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin; and for his ſake, did not think ſo ill of the diſcipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public

public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and eccleſiaſtical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to him, and at leaſt equally preferred by him: and, though many other biſhops plainly diſcerned the miſchiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remiſſneſs, and prevented it in their own dioceſes as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the biſhop of London (Dr. Laud) from the time of his authority and credit with the king, had applied all the remedies he could to thoſe defections, and from the time of his being chancellor of Oxford had much diſcountenanced and almoſt ſuppreſſed that ſpirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that univerſity; yet that temper in the archbiſhop, whoſe houſe was a ſanctuary to the moſt eminent of that factious party, and who licenſed their moſt pernicious writings, left his ſucceſſ r a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order, that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo filled by many weak and more wilful churchmen." The complexion of this noble author accounts for his prejudices againſt our archbiſhop; but the candour of Dr. Wellwood has enabled him to do juſtice to the merit and abilities of our prelate.

"Archbiſhop Abbot," ſays Wellwood, "was a perſon of wonderful temper and moderation, and in all his conduct ſhewed an unwillingneſs to ſtretch the act of uniformity beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary for the peace of the church, or the prerogative of the crown, any further than conduced to the good of the ſtate. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwiſe of conſi-

derable learning and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, ſtoop to the humour of the times; and now and then, by an unſeaſonable ſtiffneſs, gave occaſion to his enemies to repreſent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular intereſt; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government."

Archbiſhop Abbot acquired a moderate ſhare of reputation by his theological and polemical writings, but being upon ſubjects chiefly temporary, they are of little account at preſent, except the two following.

Quæſtiones ſex, totidem prælectionibus in ſchola theologica Oxoniæ pro forma habitis, diſcuſſæ & diſceptatæ, anno 1597, *in quibus e ſacra ſcriptura & patribus quid ſtatuendum ſit definitur Oxoniæ* 1598, *Francoforti* 1616, 4*to.*

Expoſition on the prophet Jonah, in certain ſermons preached in St. Mary's church, Oxford; London, 1602.

We ſhall conclude with reminding the reader, that the archbiſhop had a brother likewiſe in the church, whoſe name was Robert, who roſe to be biſhop of Saliſbury, and died in 1617; equally eſteemed for true piety, moderation, and candour, and whoſe theological works are held in greater eſteem than thoſe of the archbiſhop, as they are on more general ſubjects, and he was allowed to be the deepeſt ſcholar of the two.

*** *Authorities.* Heylin's Life of Archbiſhop Abbot. Winwood's Memorials. Fuller's Church Hiſtory. Ruſhworth's Collections. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Wellwood's Memoirs.

The

The LIFE of

SIR EDWARD COKE,

LORD-CHIEF-JUSTICE of ENGLAND.

[A.D. 1550, to 1634.]

THIS celebrated lawyer was ſon to Robert Coke, Eſq; and was born at his father's ſeat at Mileham, in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1550. At ten years of age, he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Norwich; and from thence removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge. He remained in the univerſity about four years, and went from thence to Clifford's Inn in London; and the year after, was entered a ſtudent of the Inner Temple. David Lloyd tells us, that the firſt occaſion of his riſe, was his ſtating of the Cook's caſe of the Temple ſo exactly, that all the houſe who were puzzled with it, admired him and his pleading it ſo, that the whole bench took notice of him. He was called to the bar at ſix years ſtanding, which in that age was held very extraordinary. He has himſelf informed us, that the firſt cauſe he moved in the King's-bench was in Trinity-term, 1578; when he was council for Mr. Edward Denny, vicar of Northlinham, in the county of Norfolk, in an action of *Scandalum magnatum*, brought againſt him by Henry lord Cromwell. This was a remarkable

markable cauſe, an account of which may be found in our Author's Reports.

About this time, he was appointed reader of Lyon's Inn, in which office he continued three years; and his learned lectures were much reſorted to, and applauded. His reputation increaſed very faſt, and he came into great practice: and when he had been at the bar about ſeven years, he married Bridget, daughter and co-heireſs of John Paſton, Eſq; a lady of one of the beſt families in the county of Norfolk, and who brought him thirty thouſand pounds.

After this marriage, by which he became allied to ſome of the nobleſt houſes in the kingdom, he began to riſe very faſt. The cities of Coventry and Norwich choſe him their recorder; and he was engaged in all the great cauſes in Weſtminſter-hall. He was alſo in high credit with the lord-treaſurer Burleigh, and was frequently conſulted in the queen's affairs. His large eſtate, and his great credit in his country, as well as at court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was choſen knight of the ſhire; and in the parliament held in the 35th of Elizabeth, he was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, being at that time the queen's ſolicitor, which was beſtowed upon him in 1592; and ſoon after, he was appointed attorney-general.

Some time after this, Mr. Coke loſt his wife, by whom he had ten children; but he afterwards paid his addreſſes to another lady of great fortune and quality. This was the lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and ſiſter to Thomas, lord Burleigh, afterwards earl of Exeter. But this new marriage, however honourable and advantageous it might appear to be, made no addition to Coke's domeſtic felicity; on the contrary, as he and his

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lady were frequently on very ill terms with each other, it proved a ſource of much unhappineſs. Indeed, the very celebration of their marriage occaſioned no ſmall noiſe and diſquiet, by an unlucky accident that attended it. There had been in the ſame year, 1598, ſo much notice taken of irregular marriages, that archbiſhop Whitgift had ſignified to the biſhops of his province, that he expected they ſhould be very diligent in cauſing all ſuch perſons to be proſecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place. But whether it was that Mr. Coke looked upon his own and the lady's quality, and their being married with the conſent of the family, as ſetting them above ſuch reſtrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private houſe, without either bands or licence. Upon which, Mr. Coke and his new married lady, Mr. Henry Bothwell, rector of Otreover in the county of Rutland, Thomas, lord Burleigh, and ſeveral other perſons, were proſecuted in the archbiſhop's court; but upon their ſubmiſſion by their proxies, were abſolved from excommunication, and the penalties conſequent upon it; becauſe, ſays the record, they offended not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point.

The affair of moſt importance, in which as attorney-general he had a ſhare in the reign of Elizabeth, was the proſecution of the earl of Eſſex, againſt whom he pleaded with great acrimony. In May, 1603, he was knighted by king James; and in November the ſame year, he managed the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Wincheſter, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London: but he inveighed againſt that great and brave man with a degree of bitterneſs,

neſs, inſolence, and cruelty, and with ſo much ſcurrility of language, as greatly leſſened him in the general opinion of the world.

Sir Edward Coke, however, ſoon after obtained great credit by the ſagacity and vigilance which he diſcovered in unravelling all the dark ſcenes of that remarkable inſtance of the bloody and vindictive ſpirit of popery, the gunpowder plot; and by his admirable management of the evidence againſt Sir Everard Digby, and the reſt of the conſpirators tried at Weſtminſter on the 27th of June, 1605, and at the trial of Henry Garnett at Guildhall, on the 28th of March following; on both which occaſions he gave the moſt convincing proofs of his extenſive capacity, quick penetration, and ſolid judgment; ſo that Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, obſerved in his ſpeech upon the laſt trial, that the evidence had been ſo well diſtributed and opened by the attorney-general, that he had never heard ſuch a maſs of matter better contracted, nor made more intelligible to the jury. This appears to have been ſo true, that many now eſteem this laſt ſpeech to be Sir Edward Coke's maſter-piece.

On the 27th of June the ſame year, he was appointed lord-chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas. And the motto which he gave upon his rings, when he was called to the degree of ſerjeant, in order to qualify him for this promotion, was, *Lex eſt tutiſſima caſſis*; i. e. the law is the ſafeſt helmet. When he had held this poſt for ſeven years with great reputation, he was, on the 25th of October, 1613, made lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench; and on the 4th of November, was ſworn of his Majeſty's privy-council.

Sir Edward Coke's profound ſkill in the common law, enabled him to diſcharge the duties of his important ſtation with eminent ability. On the bench

bench he was above corruption; and had this saying frequently in his mouth, that a judge ſhould neither give nor take a bribe. And though whilſt he held the poſt of attorney-general, he had been too ready to countenance and ſupport the deſpotic meaſures of James and his miniſters, yet now he was advanced to the dignity of lord-chief-juſtice, the court found him, in ſeveral inſtances, no friend to arbitrary will and pleaſure, or to the prerogative, as it was called; but reſolutely bent to maintain the integrity and honour of his poſt.

In 1614, Mr. Peacham, a clergyman, was accuſed of inſerting in a ſermon ſeveral paſſages accounted treaſonable, for it ſeems they reflected on the miniſtry; but in a ſermon never preached, nor ever intended to be made public. The king, who was beyond meaſure jealous on this head, fearing the man might either be acquitted on his trial, or not condemned to a capital puniſhment, had ordered his attorney-general, Bacon, to ſound the judges before hand, and gather their opinions, ſecretly and apart. But the lord-chief-juſtice Coke abſolutely refuſed to declare his; looking on this auricular taking of opinions, for ſo he named it, as not according to the cuſtoms of the realm, but new, and of pernicious tendency. It was, indeed, directly contrary to his own ſound maxim, that he was a judge in a court, and not in a chamber. But notwithſtanding this, it appears that Mr. Peacham was tried and convicted of high treaſon. In a cauſe of the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, to whom the king had granted a vacant church in commendam, Sir Edward Coke alſo behaved with honeſty and firmneſs, and made it evident that he knew that a judge ought neither to be flattered nor menaced out of his integrity. Serjeant Chiborne, who was council againſt the biſhop, in arguing the

the caſe, had maintained ſeveral poſitions, reckoned prejudicial and derogatory to the king's ſupreme and imperial power, which was affirmed to be diſtinct from, and of an higher nature, than his ordinary authority. Informed of this, James, by his attorney-general Bacon, ordered his judges to ſtay further proceedings in that buſineſs, till they had conſulted with him. The judges aſſembled, and unanimouſly agreed, that they could not obey this order; that the letter they had received was contrary to law; that, by their oath and the duty of their places, they were not to delay juſtice; that they ſhould therefore proceed in the cauſe at the time fixed: and of this they certified the king in a writing under all their hands. Upon this remonſtrance, he wrote them an angry letter, and peremptorily commanded them to ſtay all proceedings, till his return to London. They were then ſummoned before the council, and ſharply reprimanded for ſuffering the popular lawyers to queſtion his prerogative; which was repreſented as ſacred and tranſcendent, not to be handled or mentioned in vulgar argument. At laſt, raiſing his voice, to frighten them into ſubmiſſion, he put this queſtion to them ſeverally: If, at any time, in a caſe depending before the judges, he conceived it to concern him either in profit or power, and thereupon required to conſult with them, and that they ſhould ſtay proceedings in the mean time; whether they ought not to ſtay them accordingly? they all, the chief-juſtice only excepted, acknowledged it their duty to do ſo. His anſwer deſerves to be for ever remembered: "That when ſuch a caſe happened, he would do that which ſhould be fit for a judge to do."

About this time, Sir Edward Coke, having determined a particular caſe at common law, the plaintiff,

plaintiff, who thought himſelf injured, would not abide by his deciſion, but applied to chancery for relief, where the defendant refuſed to appear, diſclaiming the authority of that court; in which he was ſupported by the chief-juſtice, who threatened the chancellor with *a premunire*, grounded on a ſtatute made in the 27th year of Edward III. for thus invading the limits of his juriſdiction. The king, who thought his prerogative ſtruck at anew in this attack on the court of his abſolute power, as Bacon ſtiled it, had the matter examined before the council, who cenſured the chief-juſtice Coke for what he had done. Nor is this to be wondered at, as they knew the diſpoſition of the king from the hints he let fall in a ſpeech he made upon this occaſion in the Star-chamber court. "The myſtery," ſays James, "of the king's power, is not lawful to be diſputed; for ſuch a diſpute ſeems to weed into the weakneſs of ſovereigns, and diminiſhes the myſtical reverence of thoſe that ſit on the throne of God." And he added the following advice to the judges: "Keep yourſelves within compaſs, give me my right of private prerogative, I ſhall acquieſce. As for the prerogative of the crown, it is not for a lawyer's tongue, nor lawful to be diſputed. It is Atheiſm to diſpute what God can do, his revealed will ought to content us; ſo it is contempt in a ſubject to diſpute what a king can or cannot do. The law is his revealed will." In ſhort, the ſame man, who in his firſt ſpeech to his parliament, after his acceſſion, declared himſelf to be only the chief ſervant of the ſtate, made his whole inglorious reign one continued ſtruggle for arbitrary power, diſputing every inch of ground with his ſubjects, when they contended for their legal rights, againſt his idle claims of prerogative, and at the ſame time ſuffering the honour as well as

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the rights of his crown to be insulted in foreign countries, not only by the natural enemies of England, but even by her allies, not daring to punish the most flagrant acts of depredation, injustice and cruelty, committed by foreigners on the persons and effects of his subjects, while he prosecuted at home, with unremitted rigour, those who presumed to limit or controul his royal will and pleasure, by making it submit to the laws of the land.

In 1615, Sir Edward Coke was concerned in the judicial proceedings against the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, in which affair he exerted himself, and as some thought in a manner highly to be applauded; but his enemies, who were numerous, and had formed a design to mortify him, took occasion, from some circumstances, to represent him in an unfavourable light, both to the king and to the people. Many things concurred at this time to hasten Sir Edward Coke's disgrace, and different causes are assigned for it by different writers. His conduct, in his judicial capacity, had upon many occasions been very unfavourable to the policy of king James's court; and he had likewise highly offended the new favourite, Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham.

The author of the notes on Wilson's Life of King James, published in Kennett's Complete History of England, observes, "That Sir Edward Coke lost the king's favour, and some time after his place, for letting fall some words upon one of the trials, importing his suspicions that Overbury had been poisoned to prevent the discovery of another crime of the same nature, committed upon one of the highest rank, whom he termed a sweet prince, which was taken to be meant of prince Henry."

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But whatever were the ſecret cauſes of his fall, the manner of it was to the laſt degree humiliating, and ſhews how obnoxious he had made himſelf to adminiſtration; for in an unprecedented manner, he was obliged to kneel before the privy-council at Whitehall, on the 20th of June, 1616, and ſeveral vague accuſations were preferred againſt him by Yelverton, the ſolicitor-general, importing, amongſt other things, "ſpeeches of high contempt uttered in the ſeat of juſtice, and uncomely and undutiful carriage in the preſence of his Majeſty, the privy-council, and the judges." It muſt likewiſe be remembered, that he had a powerful enemy in Sir Francis Bacon, who had been raiſed to the dignity of lord chancellor the preceding month, and now took an opportunity at once to recriminate on his old antagoniſt, and to ſhew his zeal in the cauſe of his royal maſter, whom Coke had offended.

The lord-chief-juſtice, in a moſt learned and upright manner, exculpated himſelf from the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, in ſupport of which no evidence whatever was tendered; but his removal being predetermined, he was brought a ſecond time to the council board, when Winwood, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, informed him, that the king had decreed, *firſt*, that he ſhould be ſequeſtered from the council-table, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be further known. *Secondly*, That he ſhould forbear to ride his ſummer circuit as juſtice of the aſſize. *Thirdly*, That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately, and diſpoſe himſelf at home, he ſhould review his books of reports; wherein, as his Majeſty was informed, were many extravagant and exorbitant opinions, ſet down and publiſhed for poſitive and good law. And having corrected what in his diſcretion he found meet in theſe reports, it was his Majeſty's pleaſure,

pleaſure, that he ſhould bring the ſame privately to himſelf, that he might conſider thereof, as in his princely judgment ſhould be found expedient. Among other things, the king diſliked the title of thoſe books, wherein Coke ſtyled himſelf lord-chief-juſtice of England; whereas he could challenge no more, as it was alleged, than lord-chief-juſtice of the King's-bench. Sir Edward ſubmitted himſelf to his Majeſty's commands; yet, on the 3d of October, he was cited before the lord chancellor, who in an imperious manner forbad him Weſtminſter-hall, and alſo ordered him to anſwer ſeveral exceptions againſt his reports. The following month, the king diſmiſſed him from his office of lord-chief juſtice, and Sir Francis Bacon was greatly cenſured, not only for having promoted his fall, but for inſulting him after it, by illiberal reproaches unworthy the gentleman, the philoſopher, and the ſcholar, in a kind of remonſtrance reſpecting his former conduct, ſoftened by the title of "an Admonitory Letter." The whole of this letter, in which the pique of a rival is diſcernible in every line, is printed in the Supplement to *the Cabala.*

The pretexts for the removal of Sir Edward Coke were ſo frivolous, that he ſuffered no diſgrace from it in the eyes of the people; and if he had ſhewn that noble fortitude and ſteadineſs upon the occaſion, which the public had a right to expect from a man of his learning and integrity, he might have ranked in the liſt of ſuffering patriots, whoſe virtues could not be endured in the palaces of weak deſpotic princes; but unfortunately either from a love of power, or more probably with a view of triumphing once more over the chancellor, whom he had foiled in court-policy at their outſet in life, he was perſuaded to take a mean ſtep to recover

recover the king's favour, and to be reſtored to his office.

While he was chief-juſtice, he had refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to Sir John Villiers, brother to the duke of Buckingham, and had even treated the propoſal with great contempt; but now he ſubmiſſively intreated the ſame perſon to honour him with this alliance, and employed ſecretary Winwood, who had pronounced his ſentence of diſgrace, to expreſs his concern for what had formerly dropped from him, with regard to his brother, and to ſolicit the favourite to promote the match; which accordingly took place, but not without ſome difficulty; for lady Hatton, Sir Edward Coke's wife, reſenting her huſband's attempt to diſpoſe of her daughter without her conſent, carried away the young lady, and lodged her at the houſe of one of her relations. Upon this, Sir Edward wrote immediately to Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the privy-council to reſtore his daughter to him; but before he received an anſwer, diſcovering where ſhe was, he went with his ſons, and took her by force, which occaſioned lady Hatton to complain in her turn to the privy-council. The treaty of marriage now went forward without further obſtruction; and, as a preliminary to its concluſion, Sir Edward, by Buckingham's intereſt, was re-inſtated at the council-table. Soon after, the marriage was ſolemnized with great pomp at Hampton-court; but as intereſt was the motive with the two brothers, notwithſtanding the lady was accounted a great beauty, it proved a very unhappy connection, Sir John Villiers neglecting his wife, who recriminated by indulging a criminal paſſion for Sir Robert Howard. As for Sir Edward, it was obvious that ambition had made him blind to all other conſiderations; for having offered to

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Buckingham, that he ſhould make his own terms for his brother, they inſiſted upon 10,000*l.* in money, and the conveyance of a real eſtate of 900*l.* per annum to Sir John Villiers for his life, beſides an annual rent-charge of 2000 marks; by which ſettlement, Sir Edward's income was conſiderably diminiſhed, and the quarrel between him and his lady brought to an open rupture: many letters which paſſed between them at the time and ſoon after their daughter's marriage, are ſtill preſerved, which ſhew not only the great animoſity ſubſiſting between them, but likewiſe that ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality in the kingdom made themſelves parties in this domeſtic quarrel; when, at length, the king himſelf taking upon him to adjuſt their differences, a reconciliation took place. Sir Edward could not be reinſtated in his office of chief-juſtice, as the king had diſpoſed of it to another perſon; but he was employed in many affairs of importance, and particularly in 1619, he was commiſſioned with ſeveral others, to confer with the deputies of the States General, concerning the differences between the Dutch and the Engliſh Eaſt-India companies.

In 1621, the king called a parliament, of which Sir Edward Coke was choſen a member; and he now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a noble exertion of his great talents, and of that influence which his age and experience gave him in the houſe of commons, in ſupport of the rights and privileges of parliament, againſt the uſurped miniſterial power of the crown. He ſpoke with great warmth againſt many of the court meaſures, and loudly complained of the countenance and protection given by government to the papiſts, who, he ſaid, were the cauſe of all the calamities under which the nation then laboured: he maintained that no prohibition,

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on the part of the king, could or ought to prevent them, from enumerating them, ſtating this as one of the public grievances. He obſerved, that the rights and privileges of parliament were a part of the conſtitution, ſubſiſting independent of the royal prerogative: that they were, in fact, the rights of the ſubject, and that no proclamation could be of any force againſt an act of parliament. He recommended, that the act paſſed in the reign of Edw. III. for holding a parliament every year, that the people might have an opportunity to complain of public grievances, might be enforced. He likewiſe aſſerted the right of freedom of ſpeech in parliament, and vigorouſly contended for a committee to enquire into the national grievances.

In conſequence of this ſpirited behaviour, the commons began to take the meaſures of adminiſtration into ſerious conſideration, which exceedingly alarmed the king, who with his uſual jealouſy concerning his prerogative, took great pains to prevent any impreſſions that might be made on the people without doors, by the behaviour of Sir Edward and others in parliament.

With this view, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all perſons, from the higheſt to the loweſt, "not to intermeddle, by pen or ſpeech, with ſtate concernments and ſecrets of empire, either at home or abroad, which were not fit themes or ſubjects for vulgar perſons, or common meetings." And he even gave his parliament to underſtand, that he thought matters of ſtate were above their comprehenſion, and ought to be left entirely to his own princely wiſdom. He alſo intimated, that the liberty of ſpeech claimed by them, as well as their other privileges, proceeded from royal grace and favour, which they might be deprived of at his Majeſty's pleaſure. It was now high time for the

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houſe of commons to be alarmed in their turn at the unconſtitutional language of the king, who was ſupported in his wild notions of the royal prerogative by his favourite the duke of Buckingham. Accordingly, the public avowal of doctrines, ſubverſive of the rights of the repreſentatives of the people, having given great offence to the houſe, they reſolved to aſſert their rights, and the following reſolution being drawn up and paſſed by a very great majority, was ordered to be entered in their Journals:

"The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereto, concerning ſundry liberties, and franchiſes, and privileges of parliament, amongſt others here mentioned, do make this proteſtation following. That the liberties, franchiſes, privileges and juriſdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of counſel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the houſe of parliament hath, and of right ought to have freedom of ſpeech, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of theſe matters in ſuch order as in their judgment ſhall ſeem fitteſt; and that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment and moleſtation (except by cenſure of the houſe itſelf) for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, or parliament buſineſs; and that if any of the ſaid members be complained of and queſtioned

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for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credit to any private information."

The king, who was in the country when this protestation was made, was so enraged at it, that he hurried to town, and sending for the journals of the house of commons, he imperiously tore out the protestation with his own hand, declaring it to be null and void, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He also prorogued the parliament, and on the 27th day of December, Sir Edward Coke, on account of his patriotic conduct in the house, was committed to the Tower, his chambers in the Temple broke open, and his papers delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Wilson to examine. On the 6th of January, 1622, his Majesty dissolved the parliament, and the same day Sir Edward Coke was accused before the council of having concealed some true examinations, in the great cause of the earl of Somerset, and obtruding false ones. But these allegations the court could not support by any evidence, and therefore could find no pretence to detain him in custody; and the utmost extent of ministerial resentment was obliged to be limited to striking him off once more from the list of privy-counsellors.

The nation was now in a flame, being justly incensed against the tyrant James, whose proceedings against this parliament laid the foundation of his son's misfortunes; and he may be said to have plunged the dagger into the bosom of Charles, by the desperate act of tearing out the protestation from the journals of the house of commons. For the people now knew what they had to expect from the race of Stuarts, whom they had exalted to the

throne of England; and they were not to learn that the prince of Wales was both by nature and education, more arbitrary in his diſpoſition than the king himſelf.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1623, Sir Edward Coke was placed at the head of a commiſſion, appointing ſundry perſons named therein, to go over to Ireland and regulate the affairs of that kingdom, which were in great confuſion; the powers granted to the commiſſioners were very ample, and the promotion appeared to be highly honourable for Sir Edward; but his friends diſcovering that it was only intended to remove him from the ſervice of his country in parliament, he refuſed to undertake this buſineſs, and was thereby thrown into great diſgrace with the court and the miniſtry during the remainder of the reign of James I.

The ſame fate attended him when Charles I. came to the throne, whoſe miniſters were ſo apprehenſive of a powerful oppoſition to be formed under his influence in the houſe of commons, that they adviſed the new king to take a very unfair method of preventing his being elected to ſerve in his firſt parliament: after having held employments under the government, of the firſt dignity, it was treſpaſſing againſt all the rules of decency and cuſtom to oblige him to ſerve the office of high Sheriff, which however the court inſiſted on, menacing him with a heavy fine, in caſe of refuſal. Sir Edward made ſome legal objections to the oath, but in vain, for they were over-ruled by the judges; and this great man was now compelled to attend them as high-ſheriff at the aſſizes, where he had often preſided as chief-juſtice.

But this parliament proving refractory, and uncomplying, and inſiſting on a redreſs of grievances before they would grant ſupplies to carry on the war

war, which had been declared againſt Spain and the emperor of Germany in 1624; they were diſſolved, after a ſhort ſeſſion of ſeven weeks; and a ſecond parliament was called in 1626, when the commons continuing to remonſtrate againſt the Duke of Buckingham's adminiſtration, and againſt the king's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without authority of parliament, this ſecond parliament was raſhly diſſolved, without paſſing one act, after a ſeſſion of four months; during which time, they had carried up an impeachment to the houſe of lords againſt the duke of Buckingham, and the king had begun the firſt act of his own tragedy, by cauſing Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, the two members who carried up the impeachment againſt Buckingham, to be committed to the Tower. The earl of Briſtol was likewiſe ſent to the Tower on the very day the parliament was diſſolved, for having exhibited articles of high treaſon in the houſe of lords againſt the favourite.

Theſe meaſures occaſioning general diſcontent throughout the kingdom, Charles iſſued a ridiculous declaration, containing the pretended cauſes of his diſſolving the two laſt parliaments; and at the ſame time appeared an order of council, directly flying in the face of the conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed; for it authoriſed the levying of tonnage and poundage in virtue of the royal prerogative, till confirmed to the king by parliament. Various other ſhameful methods were taken by the king to raiſe money for his ſupport without the conſent of parliament, ſuch as the ſale of the crown-lands, loans, and ſhip-money; of the laſt of which more ample mention will be made in the life of our illuſtrious Patriot, John Hampden. With reſpect to the loans, it muſt be obſerved, that ſoon after the diſſolution of the ſecond parliament,

ment, the court grew so arbitrary, that several gentlemen were committed to the common gaols of the kingdom for refusing to lend the king money, and some citizens of note were pressed for soldiers on the same account.

But all compulsive schemes of raising supplies being found ineffectual to answer the end proposed by Charles and his ministry, which was to govern without a parliament, they saw themselves under a necessity of assembling a third, in March 1628; and as it was impossible to fall upon any stratagem to exclude Sir Edward Coke, he was now elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks; and became as eminent in the house of commons, as he had formerly been in Westminster-hall. No member spoke more warmly for the redress of grievances, argued more boldly in defence of the liberty of the subject, or more strenuously supported the privileges of parliament.

At length, the five following gentlemen, whose names deserve to be remembered with honour, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbett, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay some illegal contributions demanded by the king, were determined, at their own expence and peril, to assert the liberty of the subject, and to demand their discharge, not as a matter of favour, which some had foolishly done by petition to the king, but as their right by the laws of the land. The trial of this point was brought on in the court of King's-bench, where the judges refused either to set the gentlemen at liberty, or to accept good bail which was offered for them; Heath the attorney-general insisting that the court should enter this general judgment, "that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the king and council."

But

But the judges did not care to carry their compliance, with the king's will and pleasure, to such an extremity. As for Sir Edward Coke, he distinguished himself upon this occasion in the house of commons, by a most learned, elaborate speech, in which he laid the whole stress of his reasoning, says an able historian, upon one point, that of proving, that if freemen of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the king, or at his commandment, then were they in worse case than bondmen, or villains. He proved this point by a chain of unanswerable arguments, both from reason and law. He then entered upon a deep discussion of the principles of the constitution in point of personal liberty; and concluded by shewing, that no virtuous operations of state, could be affected by leaving to subjects that jewel, which not only distinguishes freemen from slaves, but the living from the dead.

The spirited conduct of Sir Edward influenced the majority of the house, as it had awed the judges not to enter the above-mentioned general judgment; and it was now resolved that some new law should be enacted, for the better security of the rights and privileges of the people. But previous to bringing in a bill for this purpose, it was thought proper to draw up a declaration of those rights and privileges, and to present it to the king, under the denomination of "*the petition of right*," praying, "That no loan or tax might be levied but by consent of parliament. 2. That no man might be imprisoned, but by legal process. 3. That soldiers might not be quartered on people against their wills. 4. That no commissions be granted for executing martial law." Sir Edward had a principal hand in framing this famous petition, and in advising the commons not to rely any longer upon the king's

artful promiſes, calculated to evade giving a direct anſwer. In the debates upon this ſubject, he made the following manly, or free remarks. "Was it ever known, that general words were a ſufficient ſatisfaction for particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the king (eſteemed to be) the word of the ſovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to redreſs them. Did ever the parliament rely on meſſages? They have ever put up petitions of their grievances, and the king has ever anſwered them. The king's meſſage is very gracious, but what is the law of the realm, that is the queſtion? I put no diffidence in his Majeſty, but the king muſt ſpeak by record, and in particulars. Did you ever know the king's meſſage come into a bill of ſubſidies? All ſucceeding kings will ſay, *Ye muſt truſt me, as you did my predeceſſor, and you muſt have the ſame confidence in my meſſages.* But meſſages of love never come into a parliament. Let us put up a petition of right. Not that I diſtruſt the king; but that I cannot give truſt, but in a parliamentary way.

The king was extremely unwilling to paſs the petition of right into a law, and made uſe of a variety of artifices to prevent it. The lords ſent down propoſitions to the commons, in which the prerogative was preſerved, and the miniſtry had an opportunity left of oppreſſing the ſubject, under pretence of reaſons of ſtate. Sir Thomas Coventry, lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, aſſured them that his Majeſty had commanded him to let them know, that he held the ſtatute of Magna Charta, and the other ſix ſtatutes which had been inſiſted on for the ſubjects liberty, to be all in force; and that he would maintain all his ſubjects in the juſt freedom of their perſons, and ſafety of their eſtates; that he would govern them according to the laws and ſta-

tutes

tutes of this realm; and that they ſhould find as much ſecurity in his Majeſty's royal word and promiſe, as in the ſtrength of any law they could make; ſo that, hereafter they ſhould have no cauſe to complain. But this did not ſuffice; the king therefore ſent a meſſage by Mr. ſecretary Cook, to know whether the houſe would reſt on his royal word, declared to them by the lord-keeper, which, if they did, he aſſured them it ſhould be royally performed. The commons, however, ſtill adhered inviolably to their reſolution of having a public remedy, as there had been a public violation of the laws, and of the liberty of the ſubject; and ſo by their ſpeaker declared to the king, who then replied, in a manner not very gracious, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, "he was content a bill ſhould be drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and the other ſix ſtatutes, if they choſe that as the beſt way, but ſo as it might be without additions, paraphraſes, or explanations." Yet the bill ſtill met with delays; and the commons were again urged by the ſecretary of ſtate to rely on the royal word. The king likewiſe wrote a letter to the houſe of peers, in which he declared, "that without the overthrow of the ſovereignty, he could not ſuffer the power of commitment (without ſhewing cauſe) to be impeached;" upon which, the lords wanted to amend the bill, by adding a ſaving clauſe, with reſpect to the ſovereign power, in extraordinary caſes. This produced a conference between the two houſes; and having in the end agreed, the petition of right, now in the form of a bill, was read the firſt time on the 2d of June 1628; and the king's anſwer was thus delivered to it. "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and that the ſtatutes be put in due execution, that his ſubjects may have

no cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſſions, contrary to their juſt rights and liberties; to the preſervation whereof, he holds himſelf in conſcience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This anſwer did not ſatisfy the commons, who ſaw through the evaſion; and the king inſiſted, for ſome time, that he would give no other: but, at laſt, upon the petition of both houſes, he gave another in the form uſed, when bills obtain the royal aſſent. *Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſiré*, "Let juſtice be done as it is deſired;" and with this they were content.

But, though Charles was thus in a manner compelled to give the royal aſſent to an act for ſecuring the liberties and property of his ſubjects, he took care to ſhew how diſpleaſing the conduct of parliament had been to him; and in order to prevent any further moleſtation from this reſpectable body, he ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons by their ſpeaker Sir John Finch, to acquaint them, that he had fixed a day for putting an end to their ſeſſion, and therefore required that they ſhould not enter upon any new buſineſs, or lay any aſperſions on the government, or the miniſters thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, with his accuſtomed freedom, threw out ſome reflections upon the duke of Buckingham; whereupon the ſpeaker roſe, and addreſſed him in theſe words: "There is a command upon me, that I muſt command you not to proceed." A profound ſilence, the effect of aſtoniſhment, prevailed in the houſe for ſome time; at length it was reſolved into a committee of the whole houſe, to take into conſideration what was to be done upon this extraordinary occaſion; and it was ordered that no member ſhould leave the houſe, except the ſpeaker, who at his own requeſt was permitted to withdraw, on pain of being committed to the Tower. As ſoon

as

as the ſpeaker was gone, Mr. Whitby took the chair, and Sir Edward Coke then, for the laſt time, ſtood forth an able champion in the cauſe of his country; and made the following ſpeech, which does honour to his memory, and may be ſaid to have been the legal ground upon which the oppoſition to the meaſures of a determined tyrant proceeded.

"We have dealt with that duty and moderation that never was the like, *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*; after ſuch a violation of the liberties of the ſubject, let us take this to heart. In the 30th of Edward III. were they then in doubt in parliament to name men that miſled the king? They accuſed John de Gaunt, the king's ſon, and Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil, for miſadviſing the king, and they went to the Tower for it. Now, when there is ſuch a downfall of the ſtate, ſhall we hold our tongues? How ſhall we anſwer our duties to God and men? The 7th of Henry IV. Parl. Rot. No. 31, 32, and 11th of Henry IV. No. 13, there the council are complained of, and are removed from the king; they mewed up the king, and diſſuaded him from the common good; and why are we now retired from that way we were in? Why may we not name thoſe, that are the cauſe of all our evils? In the 4th of Henry III. the 27th of Edward III. and 13th of Richard II. the parliament moderated the king's prerogative, and nothing grows to abuſe, but this houſe hath power to treat of it. What ſhall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not proſper us. I think the duke of Buckingham is the cauſe of all our miſeries; and till the king be informed thereof, we ſhall never go out with honour, or ſit with honour here; that man is the grievance of all grievances; let us ſet down the cauſes of all our diſaſters, and all will reflect upon him."

The duke of Buckingham ſurvived this debate only two months; but his untimely death made no alteration in the king's conduct, who being reſolved to ſtake his crown in ſupport of illegal prerogatives, no man could come into power who was not tainted with the ſame principles; and Charles found in Richard lord Weſton, whom he created earl of Portland, and promoted to the office of lord-high-treaſurer, Wentworth earl of Strafford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſuch zealous aſſertors of the prerogative, that they precipitated him into worſe meaſures than thoſe which had been adviſed by Buckingham. For, the parliament meeting again in January 1629, and proceeding with more earneſtneſs upon their grievances, inſtead of ſettling the duties of tonnage and poundage on the king for life, which he required, Charles and his miniſtry loſt all patience, and by one mad action proclaimed war againſt the inherent rights of the people of England. The commons having prepared a remonſtrance againſt the king's conduct in ordering ſome cuſtom-houſe officers to ſeize the merchandiſe of Mr. Rolles, for refuſing to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage, warrants were iſſued by the privy-council, for taking into cuſtody nine of their members who had been the moſt active in drawing up the remonſtrance, and the moſt undutiful, in the opinion of the court in their ſpeeches in parliament: four of them were brought before the council, and refuſing to be anſwerable for what they ſaid or did in parliament, they were committed to the Tower, and then the accuſtomary (but fatal) expedient in this reign took place of diſſolving the parliament: immediately after which, proſecutions were ſet on foot againſt the nine members in the court of ſtar-chamber; and as for thoſe who were priſoners

prisoners in the Tower, they were refused the benefit of the *habeas corpus*, for admitting them to bail; and rejecting the offers of the ministry to bail them, or to release them on their submission, they remained in confinement, and Sir John Elliot and some others died in prison.

Here let it be observed, that most of our historians, in reasoning upon the tragical events of these unhappy times, have taken up the contest respecting, who began the civil war, the king or the parliament, at a wrong period. The true æra of the king's declaration of war against his own subjects, and which makes their rising in arms afterwards, appear to be no more than constitutional recrimination is, that of his seizing Mr. Rolles's effects, and the commitment of the members of the house of commons for doing their duty as faithful representatives of the people in parliament. And surely, no man who has a drop of patriotism in his blood, can hesitate to pronounce Charles I. to be an inhuman tyrant, when he finds it upon record, that virtuous representatives of the people, who refused to betray their trust, either by giving up their rights, or by making a mean submission to an abandoned ministry, for having dared to do their duty, died in a prison, to which they were despotically condemned by a man, who had solemnly sworn at his coronation to govern according to the laws and customs of the realm.

Sir Edward Coke, after the dissolution of this parliament, retired into the country; and Charles having governed without calling another during the remainder of Sir Edward's life, we have no further account of this great man, but that he died at Stoke in Buckinghamshire in 1634; and that the resentment of the court was carried to such a pitch against him, that while he lay upon his death-bed,

Sir

Sir Francis Windebank, one of the secretaries of state, by an order of council searched his house for seditious and dangerous papers; under the colour of which pretext and order, he feloniously carried off, "his Commentary upon Littleton, with his Life prefixed, written with his own hand. His Commentary upon Magna Charta, &c. His Pleas of the Crown, and the Jurisdiction of Courts. His 11th and 12th Reports in manuscript, and fifty-one other manuscripts." Likewise his last will, wherein he had been for several years been making provision for his younger grand-children. The books and papers were detained till one of his sons moved the house of commons in 1641, that the books and papers taken by Sir Francis Windebank, might be delivered to Sir Robert Coke, heir to Sir Edward, which the king, at the request of the house, immediately granted; and such of them as could be found, were accordingly delivered up, but his will was never recovered.

Sir Edward Coke was esteemed in his practice at the bar and on the bench, to be one of the ablest lawyers England ever produced; and he valued himself upon deriving his fortune, his reputation, and his preferments, not from solicitations, bribery, or adulation, but from his profound knowledge in the law. And he was so greatly honoured, and beloved by the gentlemen of the profession, that when he was prosecuted by the court in the reign of James I. Sir John Walter, though attorney-general to Charles prince of Wales, and therefore in a manner obliged to it officially, refused to plead against him, and laid the brief aside, which had been sent to him by the court, making use of this remarkable sentence upon the occasion: "Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, whenever I open it against Sir Edward Coke." His reputation,

tion, as a law-writer, is so firmly established in our courts, that his works are considered as undeniable authorities; for which reason, it is proper to annex the following list of them.

I. The first part of the REPORTS of Sir Edward Coke, knight, her Majesty's attorney-general, of diverse resolutions and judgments, given with great deliberation by the reverend judges and sages of the law, of cases and matters in law, which were never resolved, or adjudged before. And the reasons and causes of the said resolutions and judgments during the most happy reign of the most illustrious and renowned queen Elizabeth, &c." It appears from the preface, that this work was published about the year 1600. The *second* and *third* parts of his REPORTS were published in the same reign. The *fourth*, *fifth*, *sixth*, *seventh*, *eighth*, *ninth*, *tenth*, and *eleventh* parts, were published at different times in the reign of James I. and these are all that were published by himself. The *twelfth* part hath a printed certificate prefixed, dated Feb. 2, 1655, and subscribed E. Bulstrode, purporting that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The *thirteenth* part is intitled, "Select Cases in Law, reported by Sir Edward Coke;" and these are asserted to be his in a preface, signed with the initial letters J. G.

II. A Book of Entries, containing perfect and approved precedents of courts, declarations, informations, plaints, indictments, bars, duplications, rejoinders, pleadings, processes, continuances, essoigns, issues, defaults, departure in despite of the court, demurrers, trials, judgments, executions, and all other matters and proceedings (in effect) concerning the practic part of the laws of England, in actions real, personal, mixt, and in appeals; being very necessary to be known, and of excellent use

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for the modern practice of the law, many of them containing matters in law, and points of great learning; collected and published for the common good and benefit of all the studious and learned professors of the laws of England, folio, 1614. This elaborate performance was intended as a supplement to his Reports.

III. Institutes of the Laws of England. This work is divided into four parts. The *first* contains his translation, from the Latin, and comment upon the tenures of Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the judges of the Common-pleas, in the reign of Edward IV. The *second* part contains *Magna Charta*, and several other statutes, more correct than they were to be met with in any other work. The *third* part contains the criminal law, or pleas of the crown. The *fourth* and last part comprehends the jurisdiction of all the courts in this kingdom, from the high court of parliament down to the court-baron.

Several smaller tracts have been also published, which were written by Sir Edward Coke; particularly, The complete Copyholder, Readings on the Statute of Fines, 27 Edw. I. and a treatise of Bail and Mainprize.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Guthrie's and Hume's Hist. of England. Rushworth's Historical Collections. British Biography, Vol. IV.

The

The LIFE of

SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH,

EARL of STRAFFORD.

[A. D. 1593, to 1641.]

THOMAS WENTWORTH was the ſon of Sir William Wentworth, baronet, and of Anne, daughter and heir to Sir Robert Atkins of Stowel', in the county of Glouceſter, knight; he was born in London, on the thirteenth of April 1593, ſeven minutes after three in the afternoon; the famous Lilly, calculated his nativity, and aſſigned aſtrological reaſons for his violent death, which is the reaſon for being ſo minutely particular as to his birth. No writer makes any mention where he received the early part of his education; but many take notice, that he ſpent ſome years at Cambridge, in St. John's College, where he uſed great diligence and application, and made great progreſs in learning. On his quitting the univerſity, he travelled abroad for further accompliſhments.

In the year 1614, by his father's death, he came into poſſeſſion of his title and the family eſtate of the value of 6000 l. per Annum, and was appointed Cuſtos Rotulorum for the county of York. He repreſented this county in parliament ſeveral times; but

but more particularly in the new parliament called on the acceſſion of Charles I. in which he ſteadily oppoſed the arbitrary meaſures of the Court. His eloquence gave him ſuch powerful influence in the houſe of commons, that the king nominated him high ſheriff of Yorkſhire in 1626, to prevent his being choſen member of parliament. The ſame year, he was put in confinement for refuſing to contribute to the loan, then exacted by Charles I. In the parliament, in 1628, he ſignalized himſelf as a patriot, upon occaſion of the inquiry made into the grievances of the nation by the commons. The abuſes which they took into conſideration, were billetting of ſoldiers, loans by benevolence and privy-ſeals, impriſonment of gentlemen refuſing to lend the King money, and denial of releaſe upon a habeas corpus; and, amongſt many ſpeeches made upon this occaſion, none were taken more notice of than that made by Sir Thomas Wentworth againſt the government. But he obſerved that thoſe things were not to be imputed to the king, but to his miniſters, who had formed the deſign of ſtretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds. "They have brought the crown into greater want than ever," ſaid he, "by anticipating the revenues: and can the ſhepherd be thus ſmitten, and the ſheep not ſcattered? They have introduced a privy-council, raviſhing at once the ſpheres of all ancient government, impriſoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us, what, What ſhall I ſay? Indeed, what have they left us? All means of ſupplying the king, and ingratiating ourſelves with him, taking up the root of all property."

As he was one of the greateſt characters then in England, the king could not but be ſenſible that his parts and capacity might be highly ſerviceable to him if he could gain him to his ſide. He endeavoured it therefore, after, or perhaps before, the diſſolution

diſſolution of the parliament, and ſucceeded ſo well, that Wentworth, before the end of the ſeſſion, became one of the moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters of the deſpotic power the king had a mind to introduce.

The bribes by which this frail man was bought off from the ſervice of his country againſt the encroachments of tyranny, were the preſidentſhip of the council in the north. He was at the ſame time created baron Wentworth, of Wentworth-woodhouſe; and, on the tenth of December following, viſcount Wentworth of the ſame place, and was made one of the privy council: at firſt he was aſhamed of his apoſtacy, and concealed his change of ſentiments; but at length he deſired an interview with Mr. Pym, to perſuade him to continue his aſſociate, and to juſtify his conduct. Mr. Pym ſaid to him upon this occaſion: "you have left us, but I will not leave you, whilſt your head is on your ſhoulders." To complete his change beyond a doubt of recantation, he now contracted an intimate friendſhip and cloſe connection with Archbiſhop Laud, whoſe ſecond he became, in all his perſecuting practices.

During his preſidentſhip in the north, he exerciſed his power with great ſeverity; and in ſome caſes, even with childiſh inſolence; particularly in that of Henry Bellaſis, ſon to Lord Falconberg, who was committed to priſon for not having pulled off his hat to him, though he pleaded that he was talking to Lord Fairfax, and that his face was turned another way.

His next preferment was to be lord-deputy of Ireland, where he preferred learned and pious men who were attached to epiſcopacy. He moreover raiſed eight regiments for the king's ſervice, each conſiſting of one thouſand men; but before he had diſpoſed of theſe forces into neceſſary quarters, he

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was recalled to England, and made lieutenant-general to the earl of Northumberland, who commanded the army which was going to be employed againſt the Scots, who had then invaded the kingdom.

In 1639, he was created baron of Raby, and earl of Strafford; the following year, he was alſo made knight of the garter, but things not ſucceeding well in Ireland under Sir Chriſtopher Wandesford, maſter of the rolls there, whom he had left deputy in his room; and the parliament of England by this time entering into ſecret engagements with the Scots, the earl of Strafford's ruin was brought about not long after. He had ſo entirely devoted himſelf to the king, that, in his two great offices of preſident of the court of York, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view but to ſtretch the prerogative-royal, and increaſe the king's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had given no leſs offence to the public than his actions, whereby he ſtrove to eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. He was therefore conſidered by the people as one of the chief authors of their grievances, and was ſingled out as the firſt victim of their vengeance. Accordingly,

On the 11th of November, 1640, eight days after the opening of the long parliament, Mr. Pym, having obtained his requeſt of the commons, that the doors of the houſe might be locked, and the outward room cleared of ſtrangers, informed them, that there were ſeveral complaints againſt the earl of Strafford, which gave juſt grounds to accuſe him of high treaſon. The houſe having received this information, immediately appointed a committee of ſeven, who withdrew into another room, and conferring together, reported ſhortly after, that it was their opinion, there was ſufficient cauſe to impeach the

the earl of Strafford. Then Mr. Pym, after having harangued the houſe a long time, with all the force of his eloquence on the grievances of the nation, in concluſion, accuſed the earl of Strafford, as the greateſt enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greateſt promoter of tyranny, that any age had ever produced And when the reſentment of the houſe was inflamed to its higheſt pitch, it was ſuddenly moved, and carried; "that the earl of Strafford be immediately impeached of high treaſon; and that Mr. Pym do carry up the ſaid impeachment to the lords."

He had orders alſo to tell the lords, that the commons would, in due time, produce the articles of accuſation, and deſired that the accuſed might, till then, be put in ſafe cuſtody. The earl of Strafford had that very day quitted the army, and taken his place in the houſe of lords. He had been appriſed before he left the army that a deſign was formed to attack him: but, whether through pride, or a perſuaſion that, having done nothing without the king's authority, he was ſecure, he ſlighted the advice, and would be preſent in the parliament. Indeed, ſome months before, the king's protection was more than ſufficient to ſcreen him from all danger; but the face of affairs was changed, and it ſeems ſurpriſing that a perſon of ſo excellent an underſtanding, could imagine, that the king was able to protect him at ſuch a juncture.

No ſooner had the commons impeached the earl, but the lords committed him to the cuſtody of the black-rod, and ſome days after ſent him to the Tower. His impeachment was prepared, conſiſting of twenty-eight articles, reſpecting his conduct as preſident of the council in the north, as governor of Ireland, and as commander in chief, and privy counſellor in England. But the proceſs againſt him

him could not be got ready to be tried till the 22d of March, 1641. The trial laſted till the 12th of April, and then the commons, who had been preſent all the while, perceiving, doubtleſs, that the ſentence would not prove as rigorous as they deſired, reſolved to proceed againſt the earl by way of bill of attainder.

They voted, therefore, on the 16th and 19th of April, that it was ſufficiently proved, that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland; and that, conſequently, he was guilty of high-treaſon.

On the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, the bill of attainder was paſſed by a great majority, there being 204 for it, and 59 againſt it. The bill met with ſo great an oppoſition in the houſe of peers, that it was very doubtful whether it would be paſſed or thrown out; for which reaſon, on the 24th, a petition was preſented to both houſes ſubſcribed by above forty thouſand inhabitants of London, ſetting forth the cauſes of their ſuſpicions and fears; and, amongſt others, that juſtice was not yet executed upon the earl of Strafford; and that there was reaſon to dread ſome ſecret plot againſt the parliament.

On the 28th, the commons ſent a meſſage to the lords, that they had received information, that the earl of Strafford had a deſign to make his eſcape out of the Tower; that the guard about him was weak; and therefore deſired he might be kept cloſe priſoner, and his guards ſtrengthened; to which the lords conſented.

The firſt of May, the king came to the parliament, and, made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

"My

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I HAD not any intention to have ſpoken to you of this buſineſs this day, which is the great buſineſs of the earl of Strafford, becauſe I would do nothing that might ſerve to hinder your occaſions: but now it comes to paſs, that, ſeeing of neceſſity I muſt have part in the judgment, I think it moſt neceſſary for me to declare my conſcience therein. I am ſure you all know that I have been preſent at the hearing of this great caſe, from the one end to the other; and I muſt tell you, that I cannot condemn him of high-treaſon; it is not fit for me to argue the buſineſs; I am ſure you will not expect that; a poſitive doctrine beſt becomes the mouth of a prince; yet I muſt tell you three great truths, which I am ſure nobody knows ſo well as myſelf.

" Firſt, That I never had any intention of bringing over the Iriſh army into England; nor ever was adviſed by any body ſo to do. Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, neither in public council nor at private committee, of the diſloyalty of my Engliſh ſubjects; nor ever had I any ſuſpicion of them. Thirdly, I was never councelled by any one to alter the leaſt of any of the laws of England, much leſs to alter all the laws. Nay, I muſt tell you this, I think no body durſt ever be ſo impudent to move me in it; for, if they had, I ſhould have put ſuch a mark upon them, and made them ſuch an example, that all poſterity ſhould know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern according to law, and no otherwiſe.

" I deſire to be rightly underſtood. I told you, in my conſcience I cannot condemn him of high-treaſon; yet I cannot ſay I can clear him of miſdemeanours: therefore I hope you may find a way to ſatisfy juſtice and your own fears, and not preſs

upon my conſcience. Yet I muſt declare unto you, that, to ſatisfy my people, I would do great matters; but this of conſcience, no fear, no reſpect whatever, ſhall ever make me go againſt it. Certainly I have not ſo ill deſerved of the parliament at this time, that they ſhould preſs me in this tender point, and therefore I cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay, I muſt confeſs, for matters of miſdemeanours, I am ſo clear in that, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet, let me tell you, that I do think my lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to ſerve me, or the commonwealth, in any place of truſt; no, not ſo much as that of a conſtable: therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find ſome ſuch way as may bring me out of this great ſtreight, and keep ourſelves and the kingdom from ſuch great inconveniences. Certainly he that thinks him guilty of high-treaſon, in his conſcience may condemn him of miſdemeanours."

The earl of Clarendon inſinuates, that the lord Say adviſed the king to make this ſpeech, in order to draw him into a ſnare, and render the earl of Strafford's ruin more ſure. Certain it is, when Strafford was told, by his overjoyed friends, that the king had made a warm ſpeech in his favour to both houſes, he received it as his doom; and told them, The king's kindneſs had ruined him, and that he had little elſe to do but prepare himſelf for death. Indeed, the commons were highly offended with the king's ſpeech, ſaying, It was an unprecedented thing, that he ſhould meddle with bills before they were preſented to him; and, that it had a tendency to take away the freedom of votes. Upon this they adjourned till Monday, the 3d of May. On which day, a great multitude at Weſtminſter, inſulted and threatened the lords, as they were going to the houſe, crying out, Juſtice! Juſtice!

It

It was no easy matter for the lords to avoid doing what the commons desired. In the first place, the commons had inspired the nation with such a terror, that no one durst oppose their resolutions, for fear of being thought to have ill designs, and exposed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people still continued to flock about Westminster, and openly threatened the lords. Thirdly, the multitude presented the same day a petition to the lords, demanding justice against the earl of Strafford, and that their lordships would be pleased to free them from the fear of a conspiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the fourth of May, the people getting together again at Westminster, in greater numbers than the day before, some incendiaries pasted up against a wall in the old palace-yard, the names of fifty-six members, and called them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Lastly, the same day the multitude presented to the lords another petition, saying that they understood the Tower was going to receive a garrison of men, not of the hamlets, as usually, but consisting of other persons, under the command of a captain, a great confident of the earl of Strafford's; which was done to make way for the earl's escape.

Upon this petition, the house sent six peers to go and examine Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, about the truth of the matter. Balfour answered, it was true, he had his majesty's order to receive one hundred men into the Tower, and captain Billingsley to command them, and to receive only such men as the captain should bring to him; but understanding now their lordships pleasure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the hamlet-men.

The lords further declared, at a conference with the commons, that they were drawing to a conclusion

ſion of the bill of attainder; but were ſo encompaſſed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore deſired the commons to join with them, to find out ſome way to ſend the people to their homes. Then the commons debated the proteſtation which had before been drawn up in order to be ſigned by all the members; the purport of which was, that each member ſhould do all that lay in his power to defend the religion of the church of England, and the privileges of parliament; and ſhould likewiſe do all in his power to bring to condign puniſhment all that by force or conſpiracy ſhould do any thing againſt either.

This proteſtation being paſſed, and taken by four hundred and thirty-three commoners, and one hundred and ſix lords, including the biſhops and judges, the commons ordered Dr. Burgeſs to acquaint the multitude with the proteſtation taken by both houſes, and that they were deſired to retire to their houſes. The populace having received this information, departed.

The parliament of Ireland, was on being informed that the earl of Strafford was in the Tower, had ſent a committee of both houſes to England, to lay before the parliament remonſtrances concerning the grievances the Iriſh endured under that lord's adminiſtration, which confirmed part of the accuſations contained in the twenty-eight articles exhibited againſt him by the parliament of England.

And, it muſt be obſerved, that the bill of attainder was ſtopped for ſome time in the houſe of lords, and the king tried every method he could think of to appeaſe the reſentment of the commons, and ſave his faithful ſervant. But great mobs, armed with clubs and ſwords, ſurrounded his palace; crying

ing out, Juſtice! Juſtice! and the royal aſſent to the bill.

It ſeems probable that, in this extremity, ſome one adviſed the king to diſſolve the parliament; at leaſt the commons imagined he had no other expedient left to extricate himſelf from the difficulty he was involved in; and therefore, to deprive him of this refuge, the ſame day, the 4th of May, they ordered the bringing in of a bill for the continuance of the preſent parliament, that it might not be diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes.

Then the king called his privy-council together, and ſent for his lawyers. He laid before them his ſcruples, and the reaſons which ought to prevent him from giving his conſent to the bill: but Juxon, biſhop of London, was the only perſon who ventured to adviſe the king to reject a bill preſented to him by both houſes. All the reſt did their utmoſt to perſuade him to ſatisfy his people, alledging that the life of any perſon ought not to be put in the balance with the ſafety of the kingdom. With regard to his ſcruples, they told him, that he might conſult his biſhops, who would give him the beſt advice.

The king, not meeting with the ſatisfaction he expected from his council, ſent for ſome biſhops to adviſe with. It is affirmed, that Neile, archbiſhop of York, ſaid to him upon this occaſion, that there was a private and a public conſcience; that his public conſcience, as a king, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to do that which was againſt his private conſcience as a man; and ſo, in plain terms, adviſed him, even for conſcience ſake, to paſs the act.

What contributed the moſt, however, to determine Charles, was a letter from Strafford himſelf, who hearing the difficulties the king was in, hum-

bly beſought him to paſs the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards a bleſſed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever eſtabliſh between him and his ſubjects: adding, "that his conſent would more acquit his majeſty to God than all the world could do beſides." To a willing man there is no injury. At leaſt, the king, no longer able to withſtand the preſſing inſtances of the parliament, and his own counſellors, or, rather, the fear of the calamities he foreſaw might befall him and his poſterity, if he refuſed to conſent to the bill, ſigned a commiſſion to three lords, to paſs it in his name.

But, notwithſtanding the earl of Strafford's letter, when the king ſent ſecretary Carleton to him, to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the earl ſeriouſly aſked the ſecretary, whether his majeſty had paſſed the bill or not; as not believing, without ſome aſtoniſhment, that the king would have done it: and, being again aſſured that it was paſſed, he roſe from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and ſaid, "Put not your truſt in princes, nor in any of the ſons of men, for there is no help in them."

On Wedneſday the 12th of May, 1641, being come to the place of execution, on Tower-hill, he aſcended the ſcaffold with reſolution, and began to take his laſt farewel of his friends, who appeared much more concerned than himſelf. Obſerving his brother, Sir George Wentworth, to weep exceſſively, "Brother," ſaid he, with a chearful alacrity, "What do you ſee in me to deſerve theſe tears? Doth any indecent fear betray in me a guilt, or my innocent boldneſs any atheiſm? Think now, that you are accompanying me the third time to my marriage-bed: never did I throw off my cloaths

with

with greater freedom and content than in this preparation to my grave. That ſtock," pointing to the block, "muſt be my pillow; here ſhall I reſt from all my labours; no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treaſon, jealouſies or cares for the king, the ſtate, or myſelf, ſhall interrupt this eaſy ſleep: therefore, brother, with me, pity thoſe who, beſide their intention, have made me happy; rejoice in my happineſs, rejoice in my innocence."

Then kneeling down, he made this proteſtation: "I hope, gentlemen, you do think, that neither the fear of loſs, nor love of reputation, will ſuffer me to belye God and my own conſcience at this time. I am now in the very door, going out, and my next ſtep muſt be from time to eternity, either of peace or pain. To clear myſelf before you all, I do here ſolemnly call God to witneſs, I am not guilty, ſo far as I can underſtand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor have ever had the leaſt inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the king, the ſtate, the laws, or the religion, of this kingdom; but, with my beſt endeavours, to ſerve all, and to ſupport all; ſo may God be merciful to my ſoul."

Then riſing up, he ſaid he deſired to ſpeak ſomething to the people, but was afraid he ſhould be heard but by few, on account of the noiſe; after which, he kneeled and adjuſted himſelf to the block, and this cauſing a profound ſilence, he roſe again, and he thus addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators.

"My lord-primate of Ireland, and my lords, and the reſt of theſe noble gentlemen: it is a great comfort to me to have your lordſhips by me this day, becauſe I have been known to you a long time; and I now deſire to be heard a few words. I come here by the good will and pleaſure of almighty God, to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin, which is death;

and, by the bleſſing of that God, to riſe again, thro' the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to righteouſneſs and life eternal." Here he was a little interrupted.

"My lords, I am come hither to ſubmit to that judgment which hath paſſed againſt me, I do it with a very quiet and contented mind; I thank God I do freely forgive all the world; forgiveneſs that is not ſpoken from the teeth outward, as they ſay, but from the very heart; I ſpeak it in the preſence of almighty God, before whom I ſtand, and there is not a diſpleaſing thought ariſing in me towards any man living. I thank God I can ſay it, and truly too, my conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my employments, ſince I had the honour to ſerve his majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joint and individual proſperity of king and people, although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

"I am not the firſt that hath ſuffered in this kind; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err; righteous judgment we muſt wait for in another place, for here we are very ſubject to be misjudged one of another. There is one thing that I deſire to free myſelf of, and I am very confident," ſpeaking it now with much chearfulneſs, "that I ſhall obtain your chriſtian charity in the belief of it. I was ſo far from being againſt parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the beſt means, under God, to make the king and people happy.

"For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though, in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart, I am not guilty of what I die for: and, my lord-primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his majeſty conceives me not meriting

riting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his, and I beseech God to return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

"I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world; I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me, and desire they would lay their hands upon their hearts, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Consider this when you are at your homes, and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you; but I fear you are in a wrong way.

"My lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient son to the church of England, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

"It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to popery; but I say truly from my heart, that, from the time that I was one and twenty years of age, to this present, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my heart to doubt of this religion of the church of England; nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me to the best of my remembrance: and so, being reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered, to those eternal happinesses which shall never have end. I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss: and so, my lords and gentlemen, farewel; farewel all things of this world.

"I desire that you would be silent and join with me in prayer; and I trust in God, we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven; there to receive the accomplishment of all happiness; where every tear shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts: and so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy on my soul."

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noblemen, and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the scaffold, giving them his hand. After that, he said, gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me; then his chaplain laid the book of common-prayer upon the chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour, and then as long, or longer, without the book, and concluded with the Lord's prayer.

When he rose up, he saw his brother, Sir George Wentworth, and called to him, saying, "brother, we must part; remember me to my sister, and to my wife, and carry my blessing to my son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient son to the church of England, and warn him that he bear no private grudge, or revenge, toward any man concerning me; and bid him beware that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and a canker to him in his estate; and wish him to content himself to be a servant to his country, not aiming at high preferments. Carry my blessing also to my daughters, Anne and Arabella, charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself; God speak for it and bless it. Now," said he, "I have nigh done; one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless,

and

and will separate me from my dear brother, and all my friends; but let God be to you and them, all in all."

After this going to take off his doublet, and to make himself ready, he said, "I thank God I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement rising from any fears, but do as chearfully put off my doublet at this time, as ever I did when I went to bed." Then he put off his doublet, bound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

After this, he asked, Where is the man that is to do this last office? (meaning the executioner) call him to me; when he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him, he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, the primate of Ireland kneeling on the one side, and the minister on the other: to the which minister, after prayer, he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly, having his hands lifted up, and closed within the minister's hands. Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner, That he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all; and so he did: and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner, That he would give him warning when to strike, by stretching forth his hands; and presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands, the executioner struck off his head at one blow; and taking it up in his hand, shewed it to all the people, and said, "God save the King."

His body was afterwards embalmed, and carried into Yorkshire, there to be buried amongst his ancestors.

Great rejoicings were made in London at the death of this minister, and several persons who came from different parts of the kingdom to see the execution, returned back, in a kind of triumph, waving their hats as they rode through every town, in token of joy, as if some national victory had been obtained, and constantly repeating with exclamations of joy, His head is off! His head is off!

Various are the characters which have been drawn of this unfortunate nobleman, and in such different points of view, according as the writers were influenced by their attachment to the regal, or the republican cause, that none of them can be relied on, we must therefore advise the reader, who is desirous of approaching the nearest to truth, to collect it from the transactions of his life, after an attentive perusal of the histories of the troublesome times in which he held his high offices, when perhaps it will appear, that his greatest demerit was his want of political abilities to guide the helm of government in a gathering storm, that his punishment was too severe, and that the avowed enemies to his royal master, compassed his death, rather with the view of exhibiting to Charles a dreadful example of their determined resolution to limit his own authority within very narrow bounds, than from any real conviction, that he had been guilty of crimes deserving of the fate he suffered. His death sat heavy, as it well might, upon the conscience of the king, for if he had made those legal concessions in due time, required from him in steady, consistent, manly, and persevering, but modest and moderate terms, by his three first parliaments, whom he rashly and unadvisedly dissolved; neither Strafford nor himself had fallen victims to the desperate junto, whose prevailing influence in the long parliament, either controuled or absolutely governed the more

candid

candid and moderate members, whose only aim in opposition was, to establish on a firm basis the constitutional, legal rights of the people, which James had invaded, and his successor Charles attempted to trample under his feet.

In his private life, his greatest enemies allow that he was an example of temperance, and of every other social virtue, and as such, his memory should be revered, as a man; however, he may stand condemned in the annals of Britain as a minister.

His lordship was three times married, and his only son William, by his second lady, was restored in blood, by an act of the same parliament, by whom his father had been brought to the block, a few weeks after his execution; a circumstance which justifies the observation, that he was not generally thought to have been clearly convicted of high treason. From this son the present patriotic marquis of Rockingham is descended. His lordship may rank in the list of noble authors, on account of his letters which were published in two volumes, Folio, in 1739, by Dr. William Knowler; but as great fault has been found with his style, and the subjects are chiefly political, in which branch of knowledge it is certain he did not excel, his reputation as an author, is so very inconsiderable, that it scarcely merits our notice.

*** *Authorities.* Guthrie's History of England. Parliamentary Debates. Biog. Britan.

The LIFE of

RICHARD BOYLE,

EARL of CORKE.

[A. D. 1566, to 1643.]

RICHARD BOYLE, honourably diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory by the title of "The Great Earl of Corke," was deſcended from a family, whoſe name, before the conqueſt, was Biervelle. He was the youngeſt ſon of Mr. Roger Boyle, of Hertfordſhire, by Joan, the daughter of Mr. Robert Naylor of Canterbury, where he was born in the year 1566. He was inſtructed in grammar learning by a clergyman of Kent; and after having been a ſcholar in Bennet-college, Cambridge, where he was remarkable for early riſing, indefatigable ſtudy, and great temperance, he became a ſtudent in the Temple.

His father dying when he was but ten years of age, and his mother before he attained the age of twenty, he found himſelf unable, from his narrow circumſtances, to proſecute his ſtudies, and therefore entered into the ſervice of Sir Richard Manwood, lord chief baron of the queen's court of Exchequer, in the capacity of a clerk; but diſcovering that this ſituation would not advance him in life, he determined to travel; and having fixed upon

upon Ireland as the place of his deſtination, he embarked for that kingdom, and arrived at Dublin in 1588, with fewer pounds in his pocket, than he afterwards acquired thouſands a year. He was then about two and twenty, and had a graceful perſon, with all the requiſite accompliſhments, to enable a young man to ſucceed in a country which was a ſcene of ſo much action. Accordingly, he made himſelf very uſeful to ſome of the principal perſons employed in the government, by penning for them memorials, caſes and anſwers, and he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the ſtate of public affairs, of which he well knew how to avail himſelf. In 1595, he married, at Limerick, Joan, the daughter and coheireſs of William Anſley, Eſq; of Suſſex, who had fallen in love with him, which incident laid the foundation of his future good fortune and ſucceſs in life; for this lady was poſſeſſed of a real eſtate of 500*l.* per annum, and dying in labour of her firſt child (a dead ſon) in 1599, ſhe bequeathed it to her huſband.

Some time after, Sir Henry Wallop of Nares, Sir Robert Gardiner, chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, Sir Robert Dillarn, chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, chief-commiſſioner of Connaught, filled with envy at certain purchaſes he had made in the province, repreſented to queen Elizabeth that he was in the pay of the king of Spain (who had at that time ſome thoughts of invading Ireland) by whom he had been furniſhed with money to buy ſeveral large eſtates; and that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected to be a Roman catholic in his heart, with many other malicious ſuggeſtions equally groundleſs; whereof Mr. Boyle having private notice, determined to come over to England to juſtify himſelf. But before

fore he could take ſhipping, the general rebellion in Munſter broke out; and all his lands were waſted, ſo that he had not one penny of certain revenue left. In this diſtreſs, he betook himſelf to his former chamber in the Middle Temple, London, intending to renew his ſtudies in the law till the rebellion ſhould be ſuppreſſed. When the earl of Eſſex was nominated lord-deputy of Ireland, Mr. Boyle being recommended to him by Mr. Anthony Bacon, was received by his lordſhip very graciouſly; and Sir Henry Wallop, treaſurer of Ireland, knowing that Mr. Boyle had in his cuſtody ſeveral papers which could detect his roguiſh manner of paſſing his accounts, reſolved utterly to depreſs him; and for that end, renewed his former complaints againſt him to the queen.

By her Majeſty's ſpecial directions, Mr. Boyle was ſuddenly taken up, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Gate-houſe. All his papers were ſeized and ſearched, and although nothing appeared to his prejudice, yet his confinement laſted till two months after his new patron the earl of Eſſex was gone to Ireland. At length he, with much difficulty, obtained the favour of the queen to be preſent at his examination; and having fully anſwered whatever was alledged againſt him, he gave a ſhort relation of his own behaviour ſince he firſt ſettled in Ireland, and concluded with laying open to the queen and her council the conduct of his chief enemy, Sir Henry Wallop; upon which her Majeſty broke out into theſe words: By God's death, theſe are but inventions againſt this young man, and all his ſufferings are for being able to do us ſervice, and theſe complaints urged to foreſtal him therein; but we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourſelves, and we will employ him in our ſervice; and Wallop and his adherents

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ſhall know that it ſhall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him: neither ſhall Wallop be our treaſurer any longer. She then gave orders not only for Mr. Boyle's preſent enlargement, but alſo for paying all the charges and fees his confinement had brought upon him, and gave him her hand to kiſs before the whole aſſembly. A few days after, the queen conſtituted him clerk of the council of Munſter, and recommended him to Sir George Carew, afterwards earl of Totneſs, then lord-preſident of Munſter, who became his conſtant friend; and very ſoon after he was made juſtice of the peace and of the quorum, throughout all the province. His preferment to be clerk of the council, he remarks, was the ſecond riſe that God gave to his fortune. He attended the lord-preſident in that capacity in all his employments, and was ſent by his lordſhip to the queen, with the news of the victory gained on the 24th of December 1601, near Kinſale, over the Iriſh and their Spaniſh auxiliaries, who were totally routed, 1200 being ſlain in the field, and 800 wounded. I made (ſays he) a ſpeedy expedition to the court, for I left my lord-preſident at Shannon-caſtle, near Corke, on Monday morning, about Two o'clock, and the next day being Tueſday, I delivered my packet, and ſupped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal ſecretary of ſtate, at his houſe in the Strand; who, after ſupper, held me in diſcourſe till two of the clock in the morning; and by ſeven that morning, called upon me to attend him to the court, where he preſented me to her Majeſty in her bed-chamber.

Upon his return to Ireland, he aſſiſted at the ſiege of Beerhaven-caſtle, which was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword. After the reduction of the weſtern part of the province, the lord-preſident ſent Mr. Boyle again to England

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to procure the queen's leave for his return; and having adviſed him to purchaſe Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munſter, he gave him a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, containing a very advantageous account of Mr. Boyle's abilities, and of the ſervices he had done in his country; in conſideration of which, he deſired the ſecretary to introduce him to Sir Walter, and recommend him as a proper purchaſer for his lands in Ireland, if he was diſpoſed to part with them. He wrote at the ſame time to Sir Walter Raleigh himſelf, adviſing him to ſell Mr. Boyle all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted and of no value to him, having, to his lordſhip's knowledge, never yielded him any benefit; but, on the contrary, ſtood him in 200*l.* yearly for the ſupport of his titles. At a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Boyle, the purchaſe was concluded by the mediation of the former: this Mr. Boyle calls the third addition and riſe to his eſtate. In 1602, Mr. Boyle, by advice of his friend Sir George Carew, made his addreſſes to Mrs. Catherine Fenton, daughter to Sir George Fenton, whom he married on the 25th of July 1603, her father being at that time principal ſecretary of ſtate. I never demanded, ſays he, any marriage portion with her, neither promiſe of any, it not being in my conſiderations; yet her father, after my marriage, gave me one thouſand pounds in gold with her; but that gift of his daughter to me, I muſt ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my bleſſings; for ſhe was a moſt religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife to me all the days of her life, and the mother of all my hopeful children.

He received on his wedding-day the honour of knighthood from his friend Sir George Carew, now promoted

promoted to be lord-deputy of Ireland. March 12, 1606, he was ſworn a privy-counſellor to king James for the province of Munſter; Feb. 15, 1612, he was ſworn a privy-counſellor of ſtate of the kingdom of Ireland; and on the 29th of September 1616, created lord Boyle baron of Youghall. Oct. 16, 1620, he was created lord viſcount of Dungarvon, and earl of Corke. Lord Falkland, the lord-deputy, having repreſented his ſervices in a juſt light to king Charles I. his Majeſty ſent his excellency a letter, dated November 30, 1627, directing him to confer the honours of baron and viſcount upon the earl's ſecond ſurviving ſon Lewis, though he was then only eight years old. October 26, 1629, on the departure of lord-deputy Falkland, the earl of Corke, in conjunction with lord Loftus, was appointed one of the lords juſtices of Ireland, and held that office ſeveral years. On the 16th of February following, the earl loſt his counteſs. November 9, 1631, he was conſtituted lord high treaſurer of Ireland, and had intereſt enough to get that high office made hereditary in his family. Nevertheleſs, he ſuffered many mortifications during the adminiſtration of lord Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford; who, before he went to Ireland, had conceived a jealouſy of his authority and intereſt in that kingdom, and determined to bring him down, imagining, that if he could humble the great earl of Corke, nobody in that country could give him much trouble. On the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, the earl of Corke, as ſoon as he returned from England, where he happened to be at the time of the earl of Strafford's trial, immediately raiſed two troops of horſe, which he put under the command of his ſons, the lord viſcount Kinelmeaky and the lord Broghill, maintaining them

and 400 foot for ſome months at his own charge. In the battle which the Engliſh gained at Liſcarrol, Sept. 3, 1642, four of his ſons were engaged, and the eldeſt was ſlain in the field. The earl himſelf died about a year after, on the 15th of September, in the 78th year of his age, having ſpent the laſt, as he did the firſt years of his life, in the ſupport of the crown of England againſt the Iriſh rebels, and in the ſervice of his country. Though he was no peer of England, he was, on account of his eminent abilities and knowledge of the world, admitted to ſit in the houſe of lords upon the woolpack, *ut conſiliarius*. When Cromwell ſaw the prodigious improvements he had made, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, that if there had been an earl of Corke in every province, it would have been impoſſible for the Iriſh to have raiſed a rebellion. He affected not places and titles of honour until he was well able to maintain them, for he was in the 37th year of his age when he received the honour of knighthood, and in his fiftieth when he attained to be a baron. He made large purchaſes, but not till he was able to improve them; and though he paid money for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich on eſtates which had ruined their former poſſeſſors; he increaſed his wealth, not by hoarding, but by ſpending; for he built and walled ſeveral towns at his own coſt, but in places ſo well ſituated, that they were ſoon filled with inhabitants, who though their rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money he had laid out with intereſt; and he as readily laid it out again: hence, in the ſpace of forty years, he acquired to himſelf what in ſome countries would be eſteemed a noble principality; and as they came to years of diſcretion,

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he beſtowed eſtates upon his ſons, and married his daughters into the beſt families in that country; ſo that his power and credit were continually increaſing, and he was generally eſteemed, being beloved by the Engliſh, and reſpected and obeyed by the natives; the former admired his wiſdom, the latter ſtood amazed at his magnificence; for as he had the power and property, ſo he had the ſoul and ſpirit of a prince; and his caſtle of Liſmore, looked rather like the palace of a ſovereign, than the reſidence of a private man, whoſe eſtate was of his own raiſing. He outlived moſt of thoſe who had known the meanneſs of his beginning, but he delighted to remember it himſelf, and even took pains to preſerve the memory thereof to poſterity, in the motto which he always uſed, and which he cauſed to be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is my inheritance.*

*** *Authorities. Biog. Britan. Bugdell's Memoirs of the Boyles. Cox' Hiſtory of Ireland.*

The LIFE of

JOHN HAMPDEN.

[A. D. 1594, to 1643.]

FEW private individuals have ever acquired ſuch immortal honour in any age or country, as the renowned Britiſh patriot, John Hampden, whoſe name and memory is revered to this hour, by every lover of his country, and every friend to the religious and civil rights of ſuch political communities, wherever ſituated on the inhabitable globe, as are founded on the chief inſtitute of civil ſociety; which is to

to provide for the safety and welfare of the whole, by a delegated authority, entrusted to one or more persons made superior to the rest, under certain prescribed limitations, for those very purposes; and who failing in the execution of this important trust, he or they may be lawfully deprived of such delegated authority; and those illustrious characters, who are instrumental in delivering their country from the mal-administration of that authority, whether in the hands of emperors, kings, protectors, or republican magistrates, will ever be considered by all noble and liberal minds, as true patriots.

In this favourable light, most historians have placed John Hampden, while some few have made him the author of the civil war between Charles I. and his subjects. And it is only from an impartial narrative of matters of fact, that a just and adequate opinion of the extensive abilities and public virtues of this great and good man, can be formed at this distance of time. We shall therefore relate every important event of his useful life, in a clear and ample manner, not doubting that the esteem and veneration of the reader will be increased in proportion as he advances from one transaction to another, till death prematurely deprived his country of the champion of her most sacred rights.

He was the son of John Hampden, Esq; and descended from a very ancient family of that name, whose paternal estate was situated at Great Hampden, in Buckinghamshire. His father married Elizabeth the second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather to Oliver Cromwell, to whom he was thus related by maternal affinity; no mention is made on what account his father resided at London, but that city claims the honour of giving birth to *Patriot Hampden*, in the year 1594. The same silence rests upon his infant years, but in the fifteenth

teenth year of his age, we find him admitted a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he is ſuppoſed to have ſtaid about three years, but he did not take any degree. From Oxford he returned to one of the inns of court, in London, and applied himſelf very cloſely to the ſtudy of the common law, in which he made a rapid progreſs, till the death of his parents, which happened in the courſe of a few years, and then being in poſſeſſion of an ample fortune, he ran headlong into all the diſſipations of youth, in which it ſhould ſeem that he paſſed his juvenile time of life, though for the credit of his name, great pains have been taken to paſs over this part of his memoirs, and to haſten to the period, when he took up a more reſerved and auſtere mode of living, and ſought the ſociety of men of ſolid underſtanding, and of graver diſpoſitions.

He preſerved however in his temper, a natural vivacity and chearfulneſs, and having now reformed his manners, he qualified himſelf for the public walk of life, in which he afterwards made himſelf ſo conſpicuous, and in the year 1626, he was elected a member of the ſecond parliament of Charles I. and having about the ſame time, married a daughter of Thomas Foley, Eſq; (great grandfather to the firſt lord Foley) he from this time became a regular liver, and a moſt important ſubject of the ſtate. He was no ſooner ſeated in parliament, than he vigorouſly promoted an enquiry into the national grievances, ſtrenuouſly recommended an addreſs to the throne for redreſs, before any permanent revenue was ſettled by parliament on the new king Charles I. and declared himſelf an opponent of the duke of Buckingham. This line of conduct endeared him to the leading members of that party, by whom, as he likewiſe poſſeſſed the talent

talent of ſpeaking well, he was conſidered as a great acquiſition, but the court did not yet view him as a formidable antagoniſt, for he was ſuffered to obtain a ſeat in the two ſucceeding parliaments, without being pricked for ſheriff, a practice we have already obſerved, the miniſtry made uſe of to prevent the election of obnoxious men. In 1628, however, he narrowly eſcaped impriſonment with the other members, who were called the riotous members, and were committed by the privy council cloſe priſoners to the Tower, for locking the doors of the houſe of commons, and holding the ſpeaker in the chair, while the famous proteſtation was read againſt innovations in religion, and the levying of tonnage and poundage, not granted by parliament. And though he was left out of this warrant, he was ſoon after taken into cuſtody, for refuſing to ſupply the king with money, on loans deemed by parliament, illegal.

His patriotic character now began to diſplay itſelf without doors, but it was not generally noticed, or ſufficiently known till the year 1636, when the eyes not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe, were fixed upon him with a mixture of admiration and aſtoniſhment, to behold a private gentleman, a ſimple individual, as he is ſtyled by ſome foreign writers, ſtanding forth to aſſert the rights of his fellow ſubjects, invaded in his own perſon by the exaction of ſhip money, ſingly, againſt the united efforts of the king, the miniſtry, the crown-lawyers, and the numerous dependants of a court: all of whom were intereſted againſt him, ſome to oppreſs, others to counteract the dictates of their own conſciences, and their knowledge of the laws of the land; and others again to defame him for preſuming to diſpute the will of his ſovereign. Unawed however by authority, undaunted at menaces, unabaſhed by calumny,

calumny, and incorruptible by bribes, he resolutely sustained the whole weight of a royal prosecution, founded in royal vengeance for contemned prerogative. Before this affair, says Lord Clarendon, "Mr. Hampden was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom; but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who, and what he was, that durst, at his own expence and peril, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought from being made a prey to the court."

And what made this his noble stand against the encroachments of arbitrary power the more extraordinary was, that the king had newly fortified himself with the following opinion of the twelve judges, "that it was lawful for the king, when the good and safety of the kingdom is in danger, by writ under the great seal of England, to command all his subjects at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships with men, victuals, and ammunition, and for such a time as his majesty should think fit, &c." Charles had plumed himself greatly upon this decision of the judges, and those who have undertaken his defence, rest his justification wholely upon it; not considering in the first place that the king of England, as supreme magistrate, ought to be as well or better acquainted with the laws of the realm he governs, so far as it respects the rights of the community, than the judges; secondly, that admitting their opinion to be founded in the original constitution, it will not go to the justification of levying a tax in money arbitrarily assessed at the king's pleasure on the subjects, in lieu of ships, or under pretext of wanting them, when there was no national danger apprehended either at home or abroad, and the sole view of the crown was to obtain money to carry on the administration of government,

vernment, and to support the king's private expences, without the aid of parliament. Thus the case stood with respect to Mr. Hampden, he was rated at *twenty shillings*, for an estate he held in Buckinghamshire, at a time when England was in profound peace. He therefore rightly judged it was the most proper crisis to try the merits of this impost, and refused to pay it. He was prosecuted by the crown in the court of Exchequer, where the cause was brought to a solemn trial, and to render the issue the more decisive in all similar cases, the judges of that court, requested the assistance of their brethren, so that it was argued for twelve days by the most eminent counsel at the bar, before all the judges, and in the end, as might well be expected, it was determined against Mr. Hampden, but the judges were not unanimous as they had been, when they delivered their opinion to the king. *Weston*, *Crawley*, *Berkley*, *Vernon*, *Trevor*, *Finch*, *Bramston* and *Smith*, gave the cause in favour of the crown. Crook, Denham and Davenport, were for Mr. Hampden, and the judgment of Jones was that Mr. Hampden should be charged with ship-money, but with this limitation and condition, that none of it should come into the king's purse, for if it did, his opinion was against it. Mr. Hampden, through the whole suit, conducted himself with such singular temper and modesty, that he actually obtained more credit and advantage by losing his cause, than the king did by gaining it, and from this time he was one of the most popular men in the kingdom. He was considered by the people as the father of his country; he was distinguished by the glorious title of *Patriot Hampden*; and he took the lead of his party in opposition to the measures of the king, in the house of commons, on the meeting of the long parliament in 1640, when he extended

extended his patriotic care to the kingdom of Scotland; by watching all the motions of the king, while he was in Scotland, and preventing the Scots being seduced from the cause of the people of England, which was that of civil liberty, by the cabals of the cabinet; and he gave such entire satisfaction to his friends, that in all the transactions between the two nations, he was constantly appointed by the parliament of England, one of the commissioners to treat with that people. It was at this time, according to Lord Clarendon, that Mr. Hampden's power and interest was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

Mr. Hampden, was likewise nominated by the parliament, one of the committee to prepare the charge against the Earl of Strafford, and a manager of the evidence against him; and he performed the same services in the prosecution of Archbishop Laud. The historians of these times agree in mentioning some plan that was set on foot after the fall of Strafford and Laud, to form a coalition of parties, by conferring some of the most important offices in the state, on the chief persons in the opposition, and it is said that the king himself at one time, seemed disposed to agree to it, in which case, Mr. Hampden proposed to undertake the office of tutor to Charles prince of Wales, and his laudable views in fixing upon this weighty charge, in preference to the more splendid appointments he might in the case of this event have commanded, are elegantly and sensibly conjectured by Mrs. Macaulay—"Whilst there were any hopes, says this able historian, that the administration of the country could

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be corrected without the entire overthrow of the conſtitution, Hampden, choſe before other preferment, the ſuperintendency of the prince's mind, aiming to correct the ſource from whence the happineſs or misfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, muſt flow: but the averſion which the king diſcovered to thoſe regulations which were neceſſary to ſecure the conſtitution from any future attempt of the crown, with the ſchemes he had entered on to puniſh the authors of reformation, and to reſcind his conceſſions, determined the conduct of Hampden." In fact, finding that no reliance could be made on the king's promiſes, which were calculated only to avoid impending, or immediate danger, he became a bitter enemy to the royaliſts, and embarked deeply in the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a republican form of government in England. To accompliſh this point, it was politically neceſſary, by ſome means or other, to get rid of the king, and as the meaſures he had now taken, had totally alienated the affections of the people, a ſurer method could not be deviſed, than by breaking off all treaties of accommodation with him, to drive him into the field in defence of his life and fortune; where the republican party hoped he would either fall by the fortune of war, or become their captive, and remain at their diſpoſal. As ſoon therefore as the parliament ordered an army to be raiſed for the defence of the ſtate, againſt the hoſtile preparations of the king, Hampden accepted the command of a regiment of foot, under the earl of Eſſex their general, and he was one of the firſt who opened the civil war by an attack on a place called Brill, about five miles from Oxford, at which the king had ſtationed ſome troops in garriſon, and had made it a ſort of barrier between the counties of Buckingham and Oxford.

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He manifested the same superior abilities in his military, as he had done in his civil capacity, and promised to be as much the hero in the field, as he had been the patriot in the senate; but his career of glory was soon terminated, for to the great grief and consternation of his whole party, he was mortally wounded in a skirmish with prince Rupert, at Chalgrove Field, near Thame in Oxfordshire; and fell a victim to his own incautious valour. For the prince having beaten up the quarters of the republican army, early in the morning of the 18th of June, 1643, Hampden was very solicitous to draw forces together to persue the enemy; and being colonel of a regiment of foot, he shewed his great eagerness to engage, by throwing himself into the cavalry, who were first ready, as a volunteer; and upon finding that the prince faced about, all the officers of this detachment of cavalry, were of opinion, to halt till their main body came up, but he alone persuaded and prevailed with them to advance and thus precipitately, he rushed on his fate. The first news of Mr. Hampden's being wounded, which was matter of great joy and triumph to the royal party, they received from one of the prisoners taken in the action, who said, he was confident colonel Hampden was hurt, for he saw him contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field, before the action was over; his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. The following day it was known that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. For six days he laboured under extreme anguish, and during this time, some writers assert, that the king, as a testimony of his esteem, sent Dr. Chinner his body physician to visit him, and to make him an offer of the assistance of his surgeons, but, all things considered, this singular instance of

generous regard for a person who was looked upon by the royalists, as the prime cause of the civil war, is hardly to be credited. On the 24th of June, 1643, this great man expired; whose life at that critical juncture, was of the utmost national consequence, it being judged from his natural disposition, and the integrity of his heart, that he would have opposed the usurpation of Cromwell, with the same fortitude and influence, and with equal success, as he had withstood the encroachments of regal power. It is certain had he lived, the parliament (dissatisfied with the conduct of the earl of Essex, and highly pleased with Hampden, both for his personal valour in the field, and his excellent advice in councils of war,) would have promoted him to the generalship; and as he was never known to exercise any authority otherwise than solely for the public welfare, it is to be presumed he would have kept within proper bounds, the ambitious spirit of Oliver Cromwell.

The remains of this celebrated patriot were interred in the church of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire, where a stone was laid over his grave, with the effigies of himself, his wife, and ten children.

Mr. Hampden's eldest son Richard, succeeded his father in his seat in parliament, and distinguished himself in it, as a zealous friend to the same cause, in which his father died. His grandson, John, likewise served in parliament; three of his daughters were married to respectable gentlemen, in the same line of political connections with himself, and holding public employments under the authority of the long-parliament, and as a testimony of their sense of our patriot's eminent public services, the same parliament ordered the sum of five thousand pounds to be paid out of the national revenues for the use of his family.

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The same observation may be made with regard to the different characters drawn of Mr. Hampden, as we inserted at the close of the Earl of Strafford's life. We must trace it in the occurences of his life, for on the one hand, partiality and prejudice have ranked him amongst the vilest of national incendiaries, and on the other, he has certainly been too highly extolled; for after all, monarchy is the legal form of government adapted to the genius as well as the true interest of Britain, yet this he endeavoured totally to subvert for no other reason, but because the regal authority had degenerated into despotism, under two inglorious princes of the house of Stuart. But the characters of statesmen, patriots, generals, and of all other persons who have acted any considerable part on the theatre of the great world, will ever vary with the political tone of the times. Yet, from the æra of his existence, to the present time, all dispassionate, sensible men, have pronounced Mr. Hampden, to have been a great and a good, though in some respects, a mistaken man, and one who ought to be held forth as an example worthy of imitation, to every race of free-born men, by whom the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty, is prized as the chief of earthly blessings, the source of public and domestic felicity.

*** *Authorities.* Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs of the reign of Charles I. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Mrs. Macaulay's Hist. of England.

The LIFE of

WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1573, to 1645.]

THIS eminent divine, was the ſon of William Laud, a clothier of Reading, in Berkſhire, by Lucia his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinſon, of Reading, and ſiſter to Sir William Webb, who was lord-mayor of London in 1591.

He was born at Reading, in the year 1573, and educated in the free-ſchool there; till July 1589, when he went to Oxford; and in June the year following, was elected ſcholar of St. John's college, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge.

In 1593, he was made a fellow of that college; the year following, he took the degree of batchelor of arts; and, in 1598, that of maſter of arts, being choſen grammar lecturer for that year. In 1600 he was ordained deacon, and prieſt in 1601, both which orders were conferred upon him by Dr. Young, biſhop of Rocheſter.

In 1602, he read the divinity lecture in St. John's college, ſupported by the benefaction of Mrs. Mag. In this and other college exerciſes, he diſcovered his talents for controverſy, by maintaining the conſtant *viſibility* of Chriſt's church, derived from the apoſtles

apoſtles to the church of Rome, and continued in that church till the reformation. This opinion involved him in a diſpute with Dr. Abbot, at that time, maſter of univerſity college, and vice chancellor of the univerſity, which contributed amongſt other things, to the mutual diſlike they took to each other, in the courſe of their lives.

In 1603, he was choſen proctor of the univerſity of Oxford; and became chaplain to Charles Blount, earl of Devonſhire; and in 1604, he took the degree of batchelor of divinity: in his exerciſe performed on this occaſion, he maintained theſe two points; 1ſt, the neceſſity of baptiſm; 2, that there could be no true church without dioceſan biſhops. Theſe tenets, like that of deriving the viſibility of the church of Chriſt, from that of Rome, were levelled at the puritans, and he was attacked by Dr. Holland, the divinity profeſſor, as a man who aimed at ſowing diviſion between the church of England, and the foreign reformed churches. From this time his opinions rendered him obnoxious to all moderate men, and Abbot made no ſcruple to proclaim him to be, if not actually a papiſt, ſo popiſhly inclined, that his company was to be ſhunned, and this had ſuch an effect, that it was accounted hereſy to be ſeen with him, and miſpriſion of hereſy to ſalute him as he paſſed.

In 1605, he imprudently married his patron the earl of Devonſhire, to Penelope the wife of Robert Lord Rich, though ſhe had been divorced from her huſband for adultery, and the match turning out, as might be well expected, extremely unfortunate to the earl, Laud was moſt ſeverely cenſured, and it is certain, king James took this affair ſo ill, that though Dr. Williams, then biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards archbiſhop of York, and lord-keeper of the great ſeal, exerted his influence in his favour,

his majesty for some years would not consent to promote him in the church. He sincerely repented this transaction, and kept a fast on the anniversary of the wedding-day ever after. A sermon preached by Laud before the heads of the university, at St. Mary's the following year, increased the number of his enemies, and his conduct in carping at the lectures of the public readers, who did not hold the same high-church sentiments as himself, made him hated and feared, for he carried reports to the bishop of Durham, who conveyed them to the king, against all who favoured the doctrines or discipline of the puritans. But his learning and address, notwithstanding these obstacles, procured him many powerful friends. In 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and the year following, he was made chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then bishop of Rochester, and commenced Doctor in Divinity. He preached his first sermon before the king, at Theobald's, in September 1609; and in October following, he exchanged his advowson of North-Kilworth, for the rectory of West-Tilbury in Essex, in order to be near his patron, bishop Neile, who, the following year, gave him the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent; and soon after, he resigned his fellowship of St. John's college in Oxford.

But finding the air of Cuckstone prejudicial to him, he exchanged it for the living of Norton in the same county, a benefice of less value, but situated in a better air.

About the end of the year 1610, Dr. Buckeridge, president of St. John's college, being promoted to the see of Rochester, on the translation of Dr. Neile, to the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Abbot, who had just been made archbishop of Canterbury, retaining his enmity to Laud, complained of him to the lord chancellor Ellesmere, who was

also

also chancellor of the university, alledging that he was a papist in his heart, which he did with a view of preventing his succeeding Dr. Buckeridge, as president of the college. However, he carried his election, being chosen president in May 1611, though he was then sick in London; and the election being called in question, it was at last confirmed by the majesty. The same year, he was sworn one of the king's chaplains. And in 1614, his friend, Dr. Neile, then bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and the following year, the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. In 1616, he was advanced by his majesty to the deanery of Glocester, a dignity, which, though it was of no great value, served to establish his reputation, as a rising man in the church, after he had been long considered as one whom the king was by no means inclined to advance to any great honours. His majesty upon this appointment, desired Laud to reform and set in order whatever he should find amiss in the cathedral; upon the strength of which, he went in great haste to Glocester, where finding the church much decayed, he ordered it to be repaired and beautified, and the communion table standing in the middle of the church, he called a chapter and had it removed to the east end of the choir, and placed against the wall. This point, which Laud considered as of the first importance, being accomplished, he recommended to the clergy belonging to the cathedral, that they should bow, in token of reverence to God, not only at their first entrance into the choir, but likewise at their approaches to the holy table. But his alterations, and his superstitious behaviour, gave great offence to many, and particularly to Dr. Miles Smith, then Bishop of Glocester, who never set his foot in the church after the removal of the communion-table.

As a further public teſtimony of the king's favour, he was ordered to attend his Majeſty in his journey to Scotland, in the year 1617; he had likewiſe the intereſt to procure ſome royal inſtructions to be ſent to Oxford, for the better government of the univerſity. The deſign of the progreſs to Scotland, was to bring the church of Scotland to an uniformity with that of England; a favourite ſcheme with Dr. Laud, and ſome other divines. But the Scots were Scots, as Dr. Heylin expreſſes it, and reſolved to go on in their own way, whatever ſhould be the conſequence; ſo that neither the king nor Laud gained any credit by this expenſive viſit to Scotland; their authority in religious matters being treated with contempt.

After his return from Scotland, Dr. Laud reſigned his living of Weſt-Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibſtock, in Leiceſterſhire, in 1617; and in 1620 he was inſtalled a prebend of Weſtminſter, having had the grant of the ſucceſſion ten years before, at the requeſt of Dr. Neile. In June 1621, the king nominated him to the biſhopric of St. David's; but he was not conſecrated till November, becauſe archbiſhop Abbot laboured under an incapacity to perform the ceremony, from the accident related in his life. The day before his conſecration, he reſigned the preſidentſhip of St. John's college, in obedience to the ſtatutes of that college; which he would not violate, nor his oath, on any pretence. But he was permitted to keep his prebendary of Weſtminſter, in commendam, through the intereſt of the lord-keeper Williams, who, to increaſe his ſmall income, gave him a benefice, worth 150 l. per annum, in the dioceſe of St. David's, and in 1622, the king alſo gave him the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonſhire.

This

This year he likewiſe held his famous conference with Fiſher the jeſuit, before the marquis of Buckingham and his mother, in order to confirm them in the proteſtant faith, about which they were wavering, and he gained his point. This conference is a ſtriking proof of the ſuperiority of his genius and learning, and it brought on an intimate acquaintance between him and the marquis, whoſe favorite he became, and to whom it is ſaid, he was too ſubſervient. But the patronage of Buckingham, who during his abſence in Spain with the prince of Wales, left him his agent at court, and correſponded with him regularly, excited the jealouſy of the lord-keeper Williams, who, from a warm friend, became a bitter enemy to Laud.

Archbiſhop Abbot having likewiſe reſolved to check his aſpiring diſpoſition as much as poſſible, left him out of the commiſſion for conſtituting the high-commiſſion court, a tribunal inſtituted to take cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical matters; but Laud complained of this indignity to Buckingham, and by his intereſt he was put into the commiſſion in in 1624. His credit with the miniſter was now firmly rooted, and he began to ſhew it by acts of authority, on the acceſſion of Charles I. for that monarch wanting to regulate the number of his chaplains, and to appoint ſuch only, whoſe religious principles he ſhould approve; and at the ſame time being deſirous to know the characters of the clergy in general, he entruſted Laud to make out a liſt of the moſt eminent divines in the kingdom, and to mark againſt each name, according to their principles, the letter O for orthodox, and P for puritans, and the laſt letter being conſidered by Laud and the King as a brand, and a barrier againſt preferment, we may now conſider our haughty prelate as inveſted with the diſcretionary power of recommending

the inferior clergy to the King's notice, and from his principles we may judge how partially he exercised it. Ingratitude was of the number of his vices, for he lent his assistance to accomplish the dismission of the worthy Bishop Williams from the office of lord keeper of the great seal, a man who had taken great pains to serve him at his first setting out on the road to preferment, but who afterwards discovering his design of supplanting his best friends, had with great justice reproached him for his perfidy and retarded his progress. But Laud having at length gained the ascendency, he prevailed with the favorite to procure him the honor of officiating at the coronation of Charles, in the room of bishop Williams, as dean of Westminster, whose office it is to administer the coronation oath; in consequence of this application, Williams was commanded not to attend, and Laud was charged with altering the coronation oath, but without any authority to prove it; probably the accusation took its rise from his having introduced in the course of the ceremony, an artful address to the king in behalf of the clergy, exhorting his majesty to shew more favour to that order, than to any other class of subjects, because they place the crown on his head, and approach nearer to the altar than others.

From this time, the minister was continually conferring favours upon Laud, who in 1626, was translated from the see of St. Davids, to that of Bath and Wells, and also made a privy counsellor, and dean of the chapel royal. He was likewise appointed to be one of the commissioners for exercising archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the year 1627, upon archbishop Abbot's sequestration.

In the third parliament of this reign, he was voted to be one of the favorers of the arminians, and one justly suspected to be unsound in his opinions that way;

way; accordingly he was named in the remonstrance presented to the king by the commons, and as he was thought to be the maker of the king's speeches, and of Buckingham's answer to the articles of impeachment drawn up by the commons against him, he became so unpopular, and such a clamour was raised against him, that his life was menaced, in anonymous papers which were thrown into the court yard of his house in London. Yet this had no effect on his advancement at court, for in 1628, he was promoted to the see of London. He was also made a commissioner for levying money by certain inland duties, called by the commons an excise, which nomination increased the fury of the people against him, though the plan was never carried into execution. The great pains he took to support the duke of Buckingham's administration in all probability would have proved fatal to himself if the duke had not fallen a victim to the resentment of a disappointed officer. Yet his concern was so great for the loss of this favorite, that he treated Felton with great severity at the council board, and threatened him with the rack, to extort from him a confession that he had accomplices; and though Felton very sensibly observed "that if he was racked, he did not "know whom the extremity of torture might force "him to name, perhaps Laud himself;" yet he persisted in his cruel design, till the judges gave it as their opinion, "that according to the laws of Eng-"land, Felton could not be put to the rack." And it is said, he never would be convinced, but that some of the members of parliament or of the puritans were privy to the murder.

Laud now supplied Buckingham's place in the king's esteem and confidence, and having great influence both in church and state, he became also the leading man, and extremely active in the high-

commission

commiſſion court, in which ſuch arbitrary and ſevere proſecutions were carried on, that the nation was alarmed, and for a time divided between fear and indignation.

Of the injuſtice and cruelty of the decrees of this court, the following is a ſtriking inſtance.

Dr Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had publiſhed, "An appeal to the parliament, or, Zion's plea againſt prelacy:" in which he had written not only with freedom, but with great aſperity, againſt the biſhops and the hierarchy. For this publication, Leighton was brought before the high-commiſſion court, on the 4th of June 1630. He acknowledged himſelf to be the author of the book; but alledged that he wrote it with no ill intention; his deſign, he ſaid, being only to lay thoſe things before the next parliament for their conſideration. However the court paſſed the following ſentence.

"That the doctor ſhould pay a fine of *ten thouſand pounds*; and be degraded from his miniſtry; that he ſhould be brought to the pillory at Weſtminſter, while the court was ſitting, and be there whipped; after which he ſhould be ſet upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one ſide of his noſe ſlit, and be branded in the face with S. S. as a ſower of ſedition; that then he ſhould be carried back to priſon, and after a few days be pillored a ſecond time, and be there likewiſe whipped, and have the other ſide of his noſe ſlit, and his other ear cut off; and then be ſhut up in the priſon of the fleet for the remainder of his life." When this ſavage decree was pronounced, the furious bigot Laud pulled off his cap and gave God thanks for it. Hiſtory informs us, that the doctor underwent theſe puniſhments, and afterwards continued in cloſe confine-

confinement for ten years, till he was ſet at liberty by the long parliament.

Having been elected chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, in the ſpring of this year, he made it his buſineſs during the remainder of his life to adorn the univerſity with buildings, and to enrich it with valuable MSS. and other books; he alſo cauſed the broken, jarring, imperfect ſtatutes to be reviſed, collated, and thrown into regular order; and he conſiderably enlarged and improved St. John's college, where he had received his education. In fact, it ſeems to have been the chief employment of this high-ſpirited prelate, to take care of the externals of religion, and to make the church of England reſemble that of Rome as much as poſſible. For this purpoſe being now almoſt abſolute in eccleſiaſtical, and having a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of civil affairs, he iſſued his orders in a peremptory manner, enjoining a ſtrict conformity to all the external rites and ceremonies of religion; he cauſed the churches in general to be ornamented with pictures, images and altar pieces, and the communion tables to be removed from the middle to the eaſt end of the churches, to be railed in, and to be called Altars. Kneeling at theſe altars, and the uſe of copes, an embroidered veſtment thrown over the ſhoulders of the prieſt, when adminiſtering the ſacrament, were alſo rigorouſly enforced; and the pious, ſenſible part of the nation conſidering theſe ſuperſtitious obſervances as ſo many advances towards the introduction of popery, Laud was deteſted in all parts of the kingdom. But regardleſs of popular clamour, he went one ſtep farther, in the conſecration of the church of St. Catherine Creed in London: it had only been repaired, yet Laud, to make way for this ridiculous ceremony, ſuſpended all divine ſervice in it, till it had been reconſe-

consecrated; which idle service he performed with nearly as much pomp and ceremony as is used by the pope, when he opens the holy gate of St. Peter, and proclaims a jubilee; in fact, it was an imitation of all the idolatrous rites practised by the Romish priests at their altars; the detail of his fooleries upon this occasion would be tedious in this place, the reader is therefore referred to Hume's history of Great Britain, vol. I. Edinb. edit.

In 1631, Laud was very active in causing St. Paul's cathedral to be repaired and beautified, in a very expensive and magnificent manner; for which purpose subscriptions and contributions were raised in all parts of England. The privy council ordered such houses and shops to be pulled down, as Laud indicated were too contiguous to the cathedral, and the owners were required to accept a reasonable satisfaction for the premises, which if they refused, the sheriffs of London were directed to see them pulled down. But the subscriptions falling short of the sums required for this great undertaking, he made use of several illegal and oppressive methods of raising money; particularly prosecutions incurring the penalty of fines were carried on with great rigour in the star chamber and high commission courts: compositions were likewise made wi h popish recusants; and commutations of penance, so that the nation exclaimed, "St. Paul's is repaired "with the sins of the people!" About this time, it is likewise affirmed that he made propofals to the king at Woodstock, to prohibit the marriages of the clergy, and he openly declared that he would bestow all the ecclesiastical preferments in his gift on single men, in preference to the married, provided their abilities were equal. But this declaration exposed him to such severe censures that he found himself under a necessity to put a stop to it, which he did

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in the most effectual manner; for, he negotiated a marriage between the Rev. Mr. Thomas Turner, one of his chaplains, and a daughter of Francis, afterwards Sir Francis Windebank, and he performed the ceremony himself in his chapel in London-house.

In 1633, bishop Laud attended king Charles to Scotland, on the same errand as he had formerly accompanied king James; but with this difference, that being now armed with more authority, he pushed the affair of the union of the two churches of England and Scotland with great zeal, however the Scots bishops would not accept the liturgy of the church of England, but composed one for the church of Scotland, with material alterations, which were opposed by Laud, but to no effect.

Having in vain endeavoured to supplant the more worthy archbishop Abbot, he at length succeeded him, by his death, which happened in so short a time after the king's return from Scotland, that Laud was not yet arrived from that kingdom, his Majesty however almost instantly nominated him, and when Laud came to court, he saluted him in the following manner. "My lord's grace of Canterbury, you are welcome," and the same day he gave orders for the dispatch of the necessary instruments for his translation; which took place in September 1633: in the interval, an emissary from Rome came to him at Greenwich, and repeatedly offered him a cardinal's hat, convincing him at the same time, of his ability to perform his promise, but the archbishop refused, alledging as a reason (so it is set down in his own diary) "that somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer that; till Rome were other than it is." The same month he was elected chancellor of the university of Dublin.

Early

Early in the year 1634, upon the death of —— Weſton, earl of Portland, lord high treaſurer of England, our archbiſhop procured himſelf to be appointed one of the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, and his friend Juxon, now biſhop of London, was, by his recommendation, made lord-treaſurer; Laud having artfully perſuaded the king, that he could not make a better choice; for the biſhop of London having no family, nor any dependants to promote, he would manage the revenue more to his Majeſty's advantage, than thoſe noblemen who ſought only to create vaſt eſtates for themſelves, their families and their parties.

In the courſe of this year, our archbiſhop cauſed the revival of the book of ſports, which was publiſhed with his Majeſty's declaration, enjoining, that it ſhould be read in all pariſh churches. The archbiſhop was accuſed of having enlarged it, and the people were confirmed in the opinion, that it was now enforced by his authority, when they found him active in proſecuting ſuch clergymen as refuſed to read it in their churches. However it gave ſuch diſguſt, not only to the diſſenters in general, but even to moderate, well-meaning churchmen; that ſome hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to date the ſecret deſign of ſome of the puritans to depoſe the king from this event.

The archbiſhop's metropolitical viſitation employed the greateſt part of his time during the remainder of this and the following year; and it gave him an opportunity of exerciſing his perſecuting faculties; for he made an attempt to force the conſciences of all foreigners ſettled in England, by compelling them to conform to the church of England, in direct violation of the privileges and indulgences granted to them by former princes, and notwithſtanding

standing the commercial benefits this country had received from their ingenuity and industry. This act of religious despotism was violently opposed by the Walloon, the French, and the Dutch protestants, who were joined by all the English puritans; and they refused to pay any deference to Laud's authority, which occasioned a warm contest, but in the end, Laud prevailed so far, that though foreigners of the first descent were allowed to worship God in their own way, yet, their descendants born in England, were ordered by the king to repair to their several parish churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against by the ecclesiastical laws. In like manner, Laud endeavoured to oblige the English factories abroad to conform themselves to the worship and ceremonies of the church of England, but many of the merchants neglecting such conformity, he obtained the king's order to enforce it. We must not, however, omit one good action performed by the archbishop towards the close of this year: it was in favor of the poor clergy of Ireland, for whom, he obtained from the king, a grant of all the impropriations that were then remaining in the crown.

Unhappily for Laud, after he became one of the commissioners of the treasury, he was almost constantly engaged in warm disputes with lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, who availing himself of Laud's choleric temper, and rash resolves, frequently deceived him, and led him into great errors. One remarkable instance is recited at large in Clarendon's history of the rebellion. The promotion of Dr. Juxon to be lord treasurer, for no other reason but because he was a churchman and the archbishop's tool, likewise inflamed the nobility against him. Juxon, says lord Clarendon, was a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom

kingdom before his promotion to the see of London. And as the high office of treasurer had not been held by a churchman before, since the reign of Henry VII. the first families in England began to be alarmed, and to apprehend that as the king had the honor and prosperity of the church so much at heart, the priesthood would engross all the great offices of state; and this paved the way to the ruin of the archbishop, who from his miserable defectiveness in political knowledge, it may be truly said, fabricated the destruction of himself, and of his royal benefactor.

His influence in Scotland being considerably increased since he had been discovered to be one of the king's favorites; he now resolved to accomplish if possible, the plan he had for many years set his heart upon; to introduce the English liturgy into the church of Scotland, with this view he had prevailed on some of the Scotch bishops to prepare that, and a collection of canons for public service. The canons were published in 1635, but the liturgy was not produced till 1636. On the day it was first read at St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, it occasioned a most violent tumult amongst the common people, who were countenanced by the nobility. This affair rendered the archbishop more odious than ever in Scotland; and at home, as his last effort of religious despotism, he attacked the liberty of the press, to which he was a bitter enemy, because the complaints of the nation against him through this channel were circulated all over the kingdom. He was considered therefore, as the instigator of a most severe prosecution carried on in the year 1637, in the star-chamber court against Mr Prynne, barrister at law, for publishing a tract, intitled *Hystrio Mastyx*, "the players scourge, and actors tragedy." written generally against plays, masques, dancing and

and entertainments of that sort, in which the author amongst other things, asserts, that women actors are notorious whores, and maintains his argument by instances of it. Unluckily the queen had acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset house, not long after the publication of this piece, and the archbishop availed himself of this circumstance to punish Prynne, who in some other writings had been very severe upon him and the hierarchy. It was falsely said, that Prynne's piece was published before the queen acted her part, and the reflection above mentioned was construed into a meditated affront to the queen; the king was persuaded to look upon it in that light: Prynne was tried and sentenced to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to be expelled the university of Oxford and the law society of Lincoln's inn; to be degraded, and for ever disabled to follow his profession of the law; to stand in the pillory twice; to lose both his ears; to have his book burnt before his face by the common hangman; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

Close upon this, followed the prosecution of Dr. Bastwicke, a physician, who had caused to be printed in Holland, a treatise, intitled, "*Elenchus religionis papisticæ*," with an appendix, called, "*Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium.*" "A confutation of popery, and a scourge for the pope and the Latin bishops." Several copies of this book being brought over and dispersed in England, Laud and some of his brethren took it into their heads, that it was a general libel against episcopacy, and prosecuted him in the high commission court in 1633, where he received sentence, to pay a fine of 1000*l.* to be excommunicated, prohibited the practice of physick, and imprisoned two years in the Gate-house. Against the illegality and severity of this sentence, he wrote two pieces during his confinement, which

which were deemed libels, and for these he was cited to appear in the star chamber this year with Prynne and Burton: he drew up an answer to the charge against him, but no counsel would sign it, and without that, the court would not receive it: upon which the Doctor said, "If your honours shall refuse it, I protest before men and angels this day, "I will put this answer of mine into Roman buff "(in Latin) and send it through the whole christian world, that all men may see my innocency, "and your illegal proceedings, and this I will do, "if I die for it;" and then he threw it into court. Nevertheless sentence was passed on him the same day, June 14th, 1637, being Hilary term, to pay a fine of 5000*l.* to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life in some remote part of the kingdom.

The last person included in this infamous star chamber inquisition was the Rev. Mr. Henry Burton, rector of St. Matthew's, in Friday-street, London. This gentleman in two sermons, preached the year before, in his church, had reflected on the bishops, and pointed out several innovations then lately introduced into the service of the church by their order, for which he had been cited before one of the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who tendered him the oath *ex officio*, requiring him to answer to certain articles exhibited against him, but he refused to take the oath, and appealed to the king. Yet, a special high commission court being called soon after at doctors-commons, he was suspended in his absence: upon this he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house, and to publish his two sermons, with an apology to justify his appeal. But on the first of February 1637, a serjeant at arms, with several pursuivants, and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the star-chamber court, broke

broke open his doors, ſearched his ſtudy, and carried him to the fleet-priſon, where he was kept a cloſe priſoner for ſeveral weeks, and there he wrote a letter to the king, another to the judges, and a third "To the true-hearted nobility," for which, and for his two ſermons, he was condemned with Prynne and Baſtwicke, and his puniſhment was nearly the ſame.

But what enraged the people beyond meaſure was the baſeneſs of the archbiſhop in proſecuting his old patron Dr. Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, and late keeper of the great ſeal, in the ſtar-chamber, the particulars of which infamous tranſaction will be found in the life of that worthy prelate. The preſs now abounded with inflammatory pamphlets and remonſtrances againſt him, and he could find no other remedy, but the worſt and moſt deſpicable: ſubjecting the preſs to an *imprimatur*, which was effected in the following manner. He procured a decree from the ſtar-chamber court on the 11th of July 1637, to regulate the trade of printing; whereby it was enjoined, that the maſter printers ſhould be reduced to a certain number, and that none of them ſhould print any books till they were licenſed either by the archbiſhop, or the biſhop of London, or ſome of their chaplains, or by the chancellors or vice-chancellors of the two univerſities; upon pain of the printer's being diſabled from following his profeſſion in future, and further proſecuted in the ſtar-chamber, or high-commiſſion court. Every merchant or bookſeller, who ſhould import any books from abroad, was to deliver a catalogue of them to the archbiſhop, or to the biſhop of London; and none were to be delivered or expoſed to ſale, till theſe prelates, or their chaplains, had read and approved them. It was alſo further ordained, that no perſon ſhould cauſe to be printed

printed beyond sea, any English book or books, whether formerly printed or not, nor was any book to be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new licence.

But not content with these illegal measures, Laud proceeded to a restraint on the personal liberty of the subject; for, the restraint of the press, together with the extreme rigour with which a conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England was now enforced, having occasioned great numbers, both of clergy and laity, to leave the kingdom and settle in New England, he prevailed with the king to issue an arbitrary proclamation, to the following purport: "The king being informed, that great numbers of his subjects are yearly transported into New England, with their families and whole estates, *that they may be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority*; his Majesty commands, that his officers of the several ports should suffer no person to pass out of the kingdom, without licence from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England."

Towards the end of this year, Laud made use of a finesse to divert the people from the idea they had entertained, and often published, that he was strongly attached to popery in his heart. He openly exclaimed at the council-board in the king's presence, with great warmth, against the increase of papists in London, their frequent resort to Somerset-house, and the insufferable misdemeanours of some of the priests in perverting his Majesty's subjects to popery; this duplicity gave great offence to the queen, who highly resented it, and it was reported that the archbishop was in disgrace at court, at which the people greatly rejoiced. But Laud, who knew

knew how to govern his weak prince, ſoon hit upon an expedient to inſure the continuance of the royal favour. In the beginning of the year 1639, he wrote a circular letter to his ſuffragan biſhops, wherein he exhorted them and their clergy to contribute liberally towards raiſing the army which the king was aſſembling, in order to bring the Scots to obedience. And as it was well known, that the whole ground of the quarrel proceeded from the oppoſition, which almoſt that whole kingdom had made to epiſcopal authority, and to the impoſition of a liturgy, he was juſtly branded with the appellation of an incendiary; and when all the meaſures taken by the king, againſt the Scots, proved unſucceſsful, he was ſo univerſally reproached, that even the king's fool or jeſter did not ſpare him, but aſked him, *Whoſe fool now?* for which he was diſcharged the king's ſervice, and baniſhed the court.

During the remainder of this year, the archbiſhop was employed in a manner more ſuitable to his function, but ſtill conformable to his Zeal for the church: he employed Mr Petley to tranſlate the liturgy into Greek; and he engaged Dr. Joſeph Hall, biſhop of Exeter, to compoſe his famous treatiſe, intitled, "epiſcopacy by divine right aſſerted:" but he could not cloſe the year without interfering in the cabinet, and he was one of the three privy counſellors who adviſed the king to call a parliament in caſe of a rebellion in Scotland, but at the ſame time, he concurred in a reſolution, if he was not the chief mover of it, to aſſiſt the king by extraordinary ways and means, if the parliament ſhould prove peeviſh and refuſe ſupplies.

The parliament was accordingly ſummoned and met on the 13th of April 1640, and immediately launched out into violent complaints againſt the archbiſhop,

archbiſhop, and at firſt inſiſted on a full redreſs of grievances before they would grant a ſupply: upon which the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons declaring the urgency of his affairs; and that if the commons would aſſiſt him againſt the Scots, he would quit his claim to ſhip-money, and give them ſatisfaction in their juſt demands; which was well received by the houſe. But, unluckily the king ſent a ſecond meſſage by Sir Henry Vane, requiring a ſupply of ſix ſubſidies, which it is thought would have been granted, but Sir Henry either by miſtake, or deſignedly, demanded twelve ſubſidies, which threw the houſe into a flame; then he went to the king, and aſſured him that no money would be granted againſt the Scots; to which his majeſty gave credit, and abruptly diſſolved the parliament. An error in judgment which proved fatal to him; by making way for the long parliament into which men of more violent principles againſt kingly government were elected. The nation being highly incenſed at the diſſolution of the parliament, and it being generally attributed to Laud, who it was thought had adviſed the meaſure to ſave himſelf, the people began to grow outrageous againſt him, eſpecially in London, and the convocation having voted the king the ſix ſubſidies he had required from the commons, a paper was paſted up at the Old Exchange on the 9th of May, exhorting the apprentices to riſe and plunder the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, on the 11th; about 500 aſſembled on that day, and attempted it, but the two days interval having given the archbiſhop ſufficient time to be in readineſs to receive them, they were obliged to retire, and ſome were taken a few days after, who were tried for high treaſon, upon the ſtatute of Edward III. for levying war againſt the king: becauſe they had a drum beat before them, the judges

judges reſolved it to be treaſon, upon which they were condemned, but only one ſuffered, who was a cobler and a ringleader; he was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his limbs fixed upon London-bridge.

At length, the ſtorm which had been long gathering burſt upon the head of this victim to his own pride and bigotry. The long parliament ſat on the 3d of November 1640, and on the 18th of December, Denzill Holles, ſecond ſon to John earl of Clare, by order of the houſe of commons impeached archbiſhop Laud of high treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours, at the bar of the houſe of lords; and acquainted their lordſhips, that the commons would make proof of their charge againſt him in convenient time, deſiring in the mean while, he might be committed to ſafe cuſtody. Whereupon his Grace was ordered to withdraw, but firſt he ſpoke to this effect: That he was ſorry for the offence which had been taken againſt him, but deſired their lordſhips to look upon the whole courſe of his life which he ſaid, was ſuch, that he did verily perſuade himſelf, not one man in the houſe of commons did believe in his heart, that he was a traitor. He was called to order by the earl of Eſſex, who ſaid it was an indecent reflection upon the whole houſe of commons, to ſuppoſe that they ſhould accuſe him of ſo high a crime, if they did not themſelves believe him guilty. The archbiſhop then deſired that he might be proceeded againſt, in the antient parliamentary way, to which lord Say anſwered, he muſt not preſcribe to them how they ſhould proceed. After this ſhort converſation, his Grace withdrew, but was preſently called in to the bar, where the gentleman uſher of the black rod waited to take him into cuſtody, purſuant to an order of the houſe; their lordſhips alſo ordered that no member of their houſe

ſhould viſit him. He was no ſooner in confinement, than the Scottiſh commiſſioners, who were come to Rippon, in Yorkſhire, to treat of an accommodation between their country and the king, ſent a ſtrong remonſtrance to the parliament againſt him, and this piece ſerved to ſtrengthen the articles preparing by the commons againſt him. After he had been ten weeks in the houſe of the gentleman uſher, the commons ſent up fourteen articles of impeachment, to the houſe of lords, deſiring time to exhibit the proofs of each, and that he might be kept ſafe. Upon which, he was conveyed to the Tower, on the firſt of March, 1641, amidſt the reproaches and inſults of multitudes of people, who lined the ſtreets to ſee him paſs. The next care of the houſe of commons, was to releaſe all perſons who had been illegally impriſoned by decrees of the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion courts, and to oblige thoſe who had paſſed unjuſt ſentences upon them, to make all the reparation in their power.

The archbiſhop, having been the principal agent in the ſevere proceedings againſt Prynne, Baſtwicke, and Burton, he was ordered to make ſatisfaction for the damages they had ſuffered by their ſentence and impriſonment; and he was fined 20000l. for the active part he had taken in the convocation, held in 1640, in which, ſundry canons had been made, containing, according to the following reſolution of the houſe of commons; "many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubject; and matters tending to ſedition and of dangerous conſequence."

The ſubſtance of the fourteen articles of impeachment againſt the archbiſhop, were reduced by his council, to three general charges. *Firſt*, an endeavour

vour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the realm; and inſtead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, againſt law. *Secondly*, an endeavour to ſubvert the true religion, as by law eſtabliſhed; and, inſtead thereof, to ſet up Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry. *Thirdly*, that he had laboured to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and the antient courſe of parliamentary proceedings, and by falſe and malicious ſlanders to incenſe the King againſt parliaments.

The defence they ſet up was, that admitting all the charges to be true, they did not amount to high treaſon, by any eſtabliſhed law of the kingdom. This juſtification of Laud by his counſel, has been generally eſteemed as a good one; and their conciſe method of ſtating the whole charge is given here, to avoid the detail of the ſeveral articles.

We muſt now return to ſome material tranſactions, previous to the trial.

In May 1641, the archbiſhop was ſentenced by the houſe of lords, to pay 500 l. to Sir Robert Howard, for falſe impriſonment. In June, he reſigned the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Oxford, and in October, the houſe of lords ſequeſtered his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, putting it into the hands of his inferior officers; and enjoined, that he ſhould not diſpoſe of any benefice, without firſt having the approbation of the houſe, of the perſon nominated by him. In January 1642, they ordered the arms and ordnance he kept at his palace at Lambeth to be taken away by the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex; and the archbiſhop, by his own account, had as many arms as coſt him upwards of 300 l. for what purpoſe as a churchman, is hard to be conceived, certainly with no good deſign. Before the end of this year, all the rents and profits of the archbiſhopric, were ſequeſtered by the

lords, for the use of the commonwealth; and when he petitioned the parliament for a maintenance, he could not obtain any; nor any part of a quantity of wood and coals, his property, remaining at Lambeth, and valued by him at 200 l. though he wanted them for his necessary use in the Tower. This by some writers, has been deemed very severe, and much has been said of the malice of his enemies. But it should be observed, that the severe proceedings against him, were voted in the house of lords, and that the high crimes and misdemeanours, he had undoubtedly committed, if they did not amount to high treason, were such daring and cruel violations of the religious and civil rights of his fellow subjects, that it was necessary to make a striking example of a man of his sacred order and high station.

On the 25th of April, 1643, a motion was made in the house of commons, to transport him to New England, but it was over-ruled.

On the 9th of May, his goods and books at Lambeth were seized, and the goods sold publicly for a third of the value; great complaint is again made by all the writers of his life on this subject; it is called very severe and unjust treatment, because he had not yet been brought to his trial, nor legally convicted of any crime. But here lies the error, he had been sentenced as we have seen, to pay one sum of 500 l. and no doubt, by this time, Prynne, Bastwicke, and Burton, had made their demands of reparation, so that it is most probable, his goods were seized and sold by civil process, to pay or secure payment to the injured parties.

On the 16th of the same month, an ordinance of parliament was issued, enjoining him not to confer any benefice without leave, and an order from *both* houses. On the 31st of the same month, Mr. Prynne, the same whom he had so unjustly punished,

now

now a member of the house of commons, received a warrant from the close committee of that house, to search his room in the Tower for papers, which he executed with an indecent rigour, which shewed that he harboured resentment, for he even examined his pockets, and carried away his diary, which was ungenerously published before his death, also some papers, containing his private devotions, and twenty one loose papers, containing memorandums drawn by himself for his defence on his trial: a promise it is said, was likewise violated upon this occasion, for Prynne promised to restore these papers to him, in three days, but he only returned a very small part. Shortly after this event, the archbishop having bestowed a living without paying any regard to the ordinance of the parliament, he was totally suspended; and on the 10th of October, ten additional articles of impeachment were carried up by the commons to the house of lords, against him, and the lords were desired to hasten his trial. He had now been three years a prisoner in the Tower, and was so loosely guarded, that it was generally thought to be the intention even of his enemies, that he should escape; but now the nation being involved in all the horrors of a civil war, those who had lost near and dear relations in the field of battle, began to cast their eyes on Laud, as the principal author of this calamity, and loudly to demand his head. The trial therefore was brought on the 12th of March, 1644, and after it had lasted twenty days, the commons finding they had not sufficient evidence to convict him of treason in the ordinary course of law, had recourse to the same arbitrary method as had been taken in the case of the earl of Strafford. They had such influence with the lords, that after the whole of the evidence and pleadings had been gone through, and the archbishop had

made his defence, which by the confession of his enemies, was a very gallant one, the house adjourned without coming to any determination, and here the matter rested, from the 29th of July, till the 13th of November, when a bill of attainder was read the first time in the house of commons, and passed and sent up to the lords on the 16th; there it stuck till January, 1645, most of the peers absconding to avoid passing it, and on the 4th of that month, it passed in a very thin house: the lords present being over-awed, as it is reported by some authors, by the violence of the earl of Pembroke, and the menaces of the mob without doors.

The archbishop received the news of his condemnation with great fortitude, but finding the sentence to be that which the law awards against high treason, he made repeated applications to have it changed to beheading, which was granted, but not without much opposition from those who had suffered ignominious punishments by his decrees.

The 10th of January 1645, being appointed for his execution, he was conducted to a scaffold on Tower-hill, where he made a long, eloquent and affecting speech to the people, which moved many to pity, while others as eagerly enjoyed the melancholy spectacle, and behaved with great indecency to the last, getting under the scaffold, and looking at him through the crevices of the boards, so that he was disturbed in his devotions, and obliged to call to the proper officers, either to stop them with clay, or to remove the people, being unwilling he said, that his blood should fall upon their heads. The substance of his speech was, a declaration of his being a true member of the church of England, and that he suffered for endeavouring an uniformity. An exculpation of the King from the charge of favouring Popery. A solemn protestation at the hour

of

of his death, the same as he had made at the bar of both houses, that he was innocent of the two points of treason charged against him—he had never endeavoured the subversion of law, or religion—neither was he an enemy to parliaments. As to the parliament by whom he was condemned, he intimates that it was misinformed and misgoverned, which was so much the worse, as the subject was thereby left without a remedy. In the rest of this famous speech, there are strong marks of unfeigned piety, but whenever he touches the political cord, or the authority of the church, the leading foibles of his heart are manifest, it is therefore more charitable, in an enlightened age, to suppress than to republish such parts of it, as do no honour to his memory.

After some time passed in private devotions, he submitted to the fatal stroke, putting off mortality with uncommon firmness. His head was severed from his body at one blow; and the corpse was interred by his friends in the parish church of All-hallows in Tower-street; but it was taken up after the restoration and carried to Oxford, where it was deposited in the chapel of St. John's college.

After reading with the utmost attention and cool judgement the very different characters given of archbishop Laud by his cotemporaries, and making all possible allowance for the heat of party, and the general complexion of the times, the editor of this work owns he could not find any on which he could rely for truth and candour; but the authors of the BRITISH BIOGRAPHY, to whom he stands indebted for very great assistance, appear to him to have drawn it with a strict regard to both, he therefore makes no scruple to insert it from their valuable compilation. "Laud was undoubtedly a man of con-

ſiderable learning and abilities; but was notwithſtanding, in many reſpects, extremely weak and ſuperſtitious. Of this his diary affords very pregnant inſtances. He was alſo of a very warm, haſty, and paſſionate temper, and of a diſpoſition ſomewhat vindictive; but, in other reſpects, his private life appears to have been free from reproach; though we can find in his actions, but very few evidences of that *immenſe virtue*, which lord Clarendon attributes to him. He was of very arbitrary principles, both in church and ſtate; extremely active in promoting the moſt illegal and deſpotic meaſures of government; and inclined to very ſevere methods in the eccleſiaſtical courts, eſpecially againſt the Puritans, and all who made any oppoſition to the doctrines or ceremonies eſtabliſhed by authority. As to his theological principles, though he could not with propriety be termed a Papiſt, it is nevertheleſs certain, that he was a great favourer of many of the doctrines maintained by the church of Rome; and that the religion he laboured to eſtabliſh, partook largely of the nature and genius of Popery. Though he would not probably have choſen that England ſhould have been brought into ſubjection to the Pope, he appeared very deſirous of being himſelf the ſovereign patriarch of three kingdoms."

He was munificently liberal, and beſides his ſeveral benefactions to the univerſity of Oxford; he procured a new charter, and a body of new ſtatutes for the college, afterwards the univerſity of Dublin. He founded an hoſpital at Reading, and endowed it with revenues amounting to 200*l.* per annum. Upon the whole, he diſcovered great taſte for antient learning, and was a friend to men of letters when their ſtudies did not interfere with his religion or politics.

As

As an author, Laud gained but little reputation, except for his account of the conference between him and Fisher the Jesuit, which passed through several editions, and bore a great character in times when the controversies between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in England ran very high; but so many more valuable performances have appeared upon the same subject since the press has enjoyed uninterrupted liberty, that it is in no repute at present. This tract, seven sermons, and short annotations on the life and death of James I. are all the literary productions of our archbishop, printed in his life-time; and it seems astonishing, that after such high encomiums on his learning by various writers, we should find so little proof of it from the press.

Several posthumous works were published at different periods under his name, but they are not of that importance to require a nice investigation of their authenticity.

*** *Authorities.* Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud. Fol. Edit. 1668. Wood's Athen. Oxon. British Biography. Vol. 4.

The LIFE of

JOHN WILLIAMS,

ARCHBISHOP of YORK, and LORD-KEEPER of the GREAT SEAL of ENGLAND.

[A. D. 1582, to 1650.]

THIS eminent man, united in his character, the divine and the lawyer, and in both capacities deservedly acquired very great reputation. He was the youngest son of Edward Williams, Esq; of Aber Conway, in Caernarvonshire, in Wales; where he was born the 25th of March 1582. He was educated at the public school, at Reuthen, and at sixteen years of age admitted of St. John's college in Cambridge. His natural parts were very uncommon, and his application still more so; for he was of so singular and happy a constitution, that from his youth upwards, he never required more than three hours sleep out of the twenty-four, to keep him in perfect health. He took the degrees in arts, and was made fellow of his college; yet this first piece of preferment, was obtained by way of mandamus from king James I. His manner of studying had something particular in it. He used to allot one month to a certain province, esteeming variety almost as refreshing as cessation from labour; at the end of which, he would take up some other

other matter, and ſo on, till he came round to his former courſes. This method he obſerved, eſpecially in his theological ſtudies; and he found his account in it. He was alſo an exact philoſopher, as well as an able divine; and admirably verſed in all branches of literature.

He was not however ſo much diſtinguiſhed for his learning, as for his uncommon dexterity and ſkill in buſineſs. When he was not more than five and twenty, he was employed by the college in ſome concerns of theirs, on which occaſions he was ſometimes admitted to ſpeak before archbiſhop Bancroft, who was exceedingly taken with his engaging wit and decent behaviour.

Another time, he was deputed by the maſters and fellows of his college, their agent to court, to petition James I. for a mortmain, as an increaſe of their maintenance; when he ſucceeded in his ſuit, and was taken particular notice of by the king; for there was ſomething in him, which his majeſty liked ſo well, that he told him of it long after, when he came to be his principal officer. He entered into orders in his twenty-ſeventh year; and took a ſmall living, which lay beyond St. Edmond's Bury, upon the confines of Norfolk. In 1611, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Grafton Regis, in Northamptonſhire, at the king's preſentation; and the ſame year was recommended to the lord-chancellor Egerton, for his chaplain, but obtained leave of the chancellor, to continue one year longer at Cambridge, in order to ſerve the office of proctor of the univerſity. In 1612, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Grafton Underwood, in Northamptonſhire, on the preſentation of Edward Earl of Worceſter, and the ſame year took a bachelor of divinity's degree. In 1613, he was made præcentor of Lincoln; rector of Waldgrave, in Northamptonſhire,

thamptonſhire, in 1614; and between that year and 1617, was collated to a prebend and reſidentiaryſhip in the church of Lincoln; to prebends in thoſe of Peterborough, Hereford, and St. David's, beſides a ſinecure in North Wales.

The chancellor Egerton dying the 15th of March, 1617, gave Mr. Williams ſome books and papers, all written with his own hand. His lordſhip, upon the day of his death, called Mr. Williams to him, and told him, that if he wanted money, he would leave him ſuch a legacy in his will, as ſhould enable him to begin the world like a gentleman. "Sir, ſays Mr. Williams, I kiſs your hands: you have filled my cup full; I am far from want, unleſs it be of your lordſhip's directions, how to live in the world, if I ſurvive you."

Well, ſaid the chancellor, I know you are an expert workman: take theſe tools to work with; they are the beſt I have; and ſo gave him the books and papers. Biſhop Hacket ſays, that he ſaw the notes; and that they were collections for the well ordering the high court of parliament, the court of chancery, the ſtar-chamber, and the council-board: ſo that he had a good ſtock to ſet up with; and biſhop Hacket does not doubt, but the marrow of his politics, was drawn from chancellor Egerton's papers.

When Sir Francis Bacon was made lord-keeper, he offered to continue Mr. Williams his chaplain: who, however declining it, was made a juſtice of the peace by his lordſhip, for the county of Northampton. He was made king's chaplain at the ſame time, and had orders to attend his Majeſty in his Northern progreſs, which was to begin ſoon after; but the biſhop of Wincheſter got leave for him to ſtay and take his doctor's degree, for the ſake of giving entertainment to Marco Antonio de dominis,

dominis, archbishop of Spalato, who was lately come to England, and designed to be at Cambridge the commencement following. The questions which he maintained for his degree were, *supremus magistratus non est excommunicabilis*, and *subductio calicis est mutilatio sacramenti & sacerdotii*. In 1619, he preached before the king, on Matth. ii. 8, and printed his sermon by his Majesty's order. The same year, he was collated to the deanery of Salisbury; and the year after, removed to the deanery of Westminster. He obtained this preferment by the interest of the marquis of Buckingham; whom, for some time, he neglected to court, says bishop Hacket, for two reasons: first, because he mightily suspected the continuance of the marquis in favor at court; secondly, because he saw that the marquis was very apt suddenly to look cloudy upon his creatures, as if he had raised them up on purpose to cast them down

However, once, when the doctor was attending the king, in the absence of the marquis, his Majesty asked him abruptly, and without any relation to the discourse then in hand, when he was with Buckingham? Sir, said the doctor, I have had no business to resort to his lordship. But, replied the king, wheresoever he is, you must go to him about my business: which he accordingly did, and the marquis received him courteously. He took this as a hint from the king, to frequent the marquis; to whom he was afterwards serviceable in furthering his marriage with the great heiress, the earl of Rutland's daughter. He reclaimed her ladyship from the errors of the church of Rome, to the faith and profession of the church of England: in order to which, he drew up the elements of the true religion for her use, and printed twenty copies of it with no name, only by an old prebend of Westminster.

The

The lord chancellor Bacon being removed from his office in May, 1621, Dr. Williams was made lord-keeper of the great seal of England, the 10th of July following; and the same month, bishop of Lincoln, with the deanery of Westminster, and the rectory of Waldgrave, in commendam. When the great seal was brought to the king from lord Bacon, his majesty was overheard by some near him to say, upon the delivery of it to him, "Now by my soul, I am pained at the heart, where to bestow this; for as to my lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Several persons were thought of for this office, particularly Sir James Leigh, Sir Henry Hobart, and the earl of Arundel. But he who was most likely to obtain it was Sir Lionel Cranfield, master of the court of wards. However, the king, before he would dispose of it, had set Buckingham to enquire what the profits of the post might amount to in justice, and whether certain perquisites were natural to it, which some had a great mind to cut off. Sir Lionel Cranfield, in full expectation of obtaining the office, intreated the marquis of Buckingham to be quick, and to advise concerning the matter with the dean of Westminster, a sound and a ready man, it was said, who was "not wont to clap the shackles of delay upon a business." Accordingly, dean Williams being spoken to, to draw up in writing what he thought of the matter, he speedily returned an account of the legal revenue of the office of lord-keeper, with some observations relative thereto. This paper was carried by Buckingham to the king, who having read it, said, "You name divers to me to be my chancellor. Queen Elizabeth, after the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, was inclined in her own judgment, that the good man, archbishop Whitgift, should take the place, who modestly refused it, because

cause of his great age, and the whole multitude of ecclesiastical affairs lying upon his shoulders. Yet, Whitgift, knew not the half that this man doth, in reference to this office." The marquis was surprized at what the king said; however, he replied, "Sir, I am a suitor for none, but for him that is so capable in your great judgment." "Be you satisfied there" said the King, "I think I shall seek no further." Upon this, Buckingham immediately sent a messenger to dean Williams, acquainting him, "that the King had a preferment in the desk for him." The dean, who was ignorant of what had passed, misunderstood the message, supposing it might relate to the bishopric of London, now vacant by the death of Dr. King; and for which, Williams had made some application. But he was soon acquainted what the preferment was, which was intended for him. And in this unexpected manner was Dr. Williams raised to this high and important office; and accordingly on the 10th of July, 1621, he was sworn keeper of the great seal of England. The same month, he was likewise promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and was also permitted to hold the deanery of Westminster, and the rectory of Waldgrave, in commendam.

Bishop Williams discharged the duties of his post, as lord-keeper, with eminent ability, and with extraordinary diligence and assiduity. It is said by Hacket, that when our prelate first entered upon this office, he had such a load of business, that he was forced to sit by candle light in the court of chancery, two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight and nine; after which, he repaired to the house of peers, where he sat as speaker till twelve or one every day. After a short repast at home, he then returned to hear the causes in chancery, which he could not dispatch in the morning:

morning: or if he attended the council at Whitehall, he came back towards evening, and followed his chancery buſineſs till eight at night, and later. After this, when he came home, he peruſed what papers his ſecretaries brought to him; and when that was done, though late in the night, he prepared himſelf for the buſineſs which was to be tranſacted next morning, in the houſe of lords. And we are told, that when he had been one year lord-keeper, he had finally concluded more cauſes than had been diſpatched in the ſeven preceding years.

In the ſtar-chamber, he behaved with more lenity and moderation in general, than was uſual among the judges of that court. He would excuſe himſelf from inflicting any ſevere corporal puniſhment upon an offender, by ſaying, that councils had forbad the biſhops from meddling with blood in a judicial form. And in pecuniary fines, his hand was ſo light, that the lord treaſurer Cranfield complained againſt him to the king, for leſſening his Majeſty's fees. He was as generous alſo in remitting his own fines; of which the following is given as an inſtance. Sir Francis Ingleſield had ſaid before witneſſes, "that he could prove this holy biſhop-judge had been bribed by ſome that had fared well in their cauſes." The lord-keeper, to clear himſelf, calls upon Sir Francis to make good his words: which he being not able to do, a fine of ſome thouſand pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the king and the injured party. But ſoon after Biſhop Williams ſent for Sir Francis, and told him he would give him a demonſtration, that he was above a bribe; and for my part, ſaid he, I forgive you every penny of my fine, and will beg of his Majeſty to do the ſame. This piece of generoſity ſo vanquiſhed Sir Francis, that he acknowledged his fault, and was afterwards received into ſome degree of friendſhip and acquaintance with the lord-keeper.

The

The lord-keeeper made uſe of his influence with the king, in behalf of ſeveral noblemen who were under the royal diſpleaſure, and in confinement. He prevailed with his Majeſty to ſet at liberty the earl of Northumberland, who had been fifteen years a priſoner in the Tower. He procured alſo the enlargement of the earls of Oxford and Arundel, both of whom had been a conſiderable time under confinement. He employed likewiſe his good offices with the King, in behalf of many others of inferior rank. To this purpoſe, biſhop Hacket relates the following ſtory. A clergyman had been impriſoned for meddling with ſtate affairs in the pulpit. Biſhop Williams was deſirous of procuring his releaſement; and therefore he went to the King, and told him that he had heard ſome idle goſſips complained of his Majeſty grievouſly, and did not ſtick to curſe him. "Why, what evil have I done to them," ſaid the King. "Sir, ſaid the lord-keeper, ſuch a man's wife, upon tidings of her huſband's impriſonment, fell preſently into labour, and the midwives can do her no good to deliver her, but ſay it will not be effected till ſhe be comforted to ſee her huſband again: For which the women that aſſiſt her revile you, that her pains ſhould ſtick at ſuch a difficulty." "Now weal away," ſaid the King, "ſend a warrant preſently to releaſe him, leſt the woman periſh."

Mr. Knight, a young divine of Oxford, had alſo advanced ſomewhat in a ſermon which was ſaid to be derogatory to the royal prerogative, for which he was a long time impriſoned in the Gatehouſe; and a charge was about to be drawn up againſt him, to impeach him of treaſonable doctrine. One Dr. White, a clergyman far advanced in years, was likewiſe in great danger of a proſecution of the ſame kind. Biſhop Williams was very deſirous

of

of bringing both these gentlemen off, and he hit on the following stratagem to effect it. Some instructions had been appointed to be drawn up by his care and direction, for the performance of useful and orderly preaching; which being under his hand to dispatch, he now besought his Majesty, that this proviso might pass among the rest; that none of the clergy might be permitted to preach before the age of thirty years, nor after threescore. "On my soul, (said the King), the devil, or some fit of madness is in the motion; for I have many great wits, and of clear distillation, that have preached before me at Royston and Newmarket to my great liking, that are under thirty. And my prelates and chaplains, that are far stricken in years, are the best masters in that faculty that Europe affords." "I agree to all this, (answered the lord-keeper,) and since your Majesty will allow both young and old to go up into the pulpit, it is but justice that you shew indulgence to the young ones, if they run into errors before their wits be settled, (for every apprentice is allowed to mar some work, before he be cunning in the mystery of his trade), and pity to the old ones, if some of them fall into dotage, when their brains grow dry. Will your Majesty conceive displeasure, and not lay it down; if the former set your teeth an edge sometimes, before they are mellow-wise; and if the doctrine of the latter be touched with a blemish, when they begin to be rotten, and to drop from the tree." "This is not unfit for consideration, (said the King), but what do you drive at." "Sir, replied Williams, first, to beg your pardon for mine own boldness: then to remember that Knight is a beardless boy, from whom exactness of judgment could not be expected; and that White is a decrepid, spent man, who had not a fee simple, but a lease of reason, and it is expired.

Both

Both theſe, that have been fooliſh in their ſeveral extremes of years, I proſtrate at the feet of your princely clemency". In conſequence of this artful application, king James readily granted a pardon to both of them.

Biſhop Williams expended conſiderable ſums to procure good intelligence in affairs of ſtate; and Hacket gives a very particular account of an artful ſtratagem by which he diſcovered the intrigues of the Spaniſh ambaſſador againſt Buckingham. A paper of complaints and informations againſt that favourite, had been privately given to the King. This gave James great diſturbance; and in this diſpoſition he took coach with prince Charles to Windſor; and when Buckingham, who attended, offered to ſtep in, the King found a ſlight excuſe to leave him behind; and he in vain begged with tears to know the cauſe of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure. Williams, having received intelligence of this, went immediately to Buckingham, who was retired melancholy to Wallingford-houſe, where he acquainted him, that it was ſome of the Spaniſh ambaſſador's agents, who had endeavoured to ruin him with the King; and adviſed him to go to Windſor, and never leave his Majeſty, and alſo gave him ſome farther directions, in order to prevent the effect of the Spaniſh machinations againſt him. Buckingham was prudent enough to follow this advice, and ſoon after told the ſtory to prince Charles at Windſor. This was on Saturday, and on the Monday following the Prince was very early at the houſe of lords; and when the lord-keeper came thither, his highneſs took him aſide into the lobby, thanked him for the warning given to Buckingham, and begged him to diſcover what he further knew concerning this plot againſt that favourite. "You, (ſaid his highneſs), that have gone thus far,

far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will ſpread open this black contrivance, which has loſt Buckingham the good opinion of my father, and myſelf am in little better condition." "Sir, (ſaid the lord-keeper), let my ſoul ſuffer for falſehood, if I know any more than that ſome in the Spaniſh ambaſſador's houſe have been preparing miſchief, and infuſed it about four days ſince into his Majeſty. But the curtain of privacy is drawn before the picture that I cannot gueſs at the colours." "Well, my lord, (replied the prince), I expected better ſervice from you; for if that be the picture drawer's ſhop, no counſellor in this kingdom is better acquainted than yourſelf with the works, and the workmen." "I might have been, (anſwered the lord-keeper), but your highneſs and my lord duke have made it a crime to ſend unto that houſe; and they are afraid to do it who are commanded from his Majeſty. It is a month ſince I have forbidden the ſervants of that family to come at me." "But, (ſaid the prince) I will make that paſſage open to you again without offence; and enterprize any way to bring us out of this wood, wherein we are loſt. Only before we part, keep not from me how you came to know, or imagine, that the Spaniſh agents have charged Buckingham to my father with high miſdemeanors, or perhaps diſloyalty. I would hear you to that point, that I may compare it with other parcels of my intelligence." "Sir, (replied the lord-keeper), I will go on directly with you. Another perhaps would bluſh, when I tell you with what heifer I plow; but knowing my own innocence, the worſt that can happen is to expoſe myſelf to be laughed at. Your highneſs hath often ſeen the ſecretary Don Franciſco Carondelet. He loves me, becauſe he is a ſcholar; for he is archdeacon of Cambray. And ſometimes we are pleaſant

ſant together; for he is a Walloon by birth, and not a Caſtilian. I have diſcovered him to be a wanton, and a ſervant to ſome of our Engliſh beauties, but above all to one of that gentle craft in Mark-lane. A wit ſhe is, and one that muſt be courted with news and occurrences at home and abroad, as well as with gifts. I have a friend that hath bribed her in my name, to ſend me a faithful conveyance of ſuch tidings as her paramour Carondelet brings to her. All that I inſtructed the duke in, came out of her chamber. And ſhe hath well earned a piece of plate or two from me, and ſhall not be unrecompenced for this ſervice, about which your highneſs doth uſe me, if the drab can help me in it. Truly, Sir, this is my dark lanthorn, and I am not aſhamed to enquire of a Dalilah to reſolve a riddle: for in my ſtudies of divinity, I have gleaned up this maxim, *Licet uti alieno peccato*; though the devil makes her a ſinner, I may make good uſe of her ſin." "Yea, (ſaid the prince merrily), do you deal in ſuch ware?" "In good faith Sir, (replied the lord-keeper), I never ſaw her face." In this manner the conference between them ended; but Williams afterwards found means, with great art and addreſs, to draw from Don Franciſco Carondelet himſelf, the particulars of the Spaniſh charge againſt Buckingham; he alſo drew up an anſwer to that charge for the duke's uſe, and ſent them both to him by the prince. By which means the favourite was ſoon reſtored to the good graces of king James.

But notwithſtanding the ſervices which Williams rendered to Buckingham, he could not ſecure that favourite's friendſhip. This, it ſeems, was not to be done but by an implicit conformity to his will and pleaſure in all things: and this Williams could not be brought to. Our prelate's intereſt with the king

King was, however, so great, that he continued to hold his post till the death of James, whom he attended in his last moments. He also preached his funeral sermon, in which he flattered the deceased king very liberally. James had promised him the reversion of the archbishopric of York, but neither the services he had performed for Charles in shielding him, while prince of Wales, from his father's displeasure, nor the exertions of his political talents to prevent the fall of Buckingham his favourite, could secure him the protection of the new monarch, nor the countenance of the ungrateful minister The reason is obvious, the character of the lord-keeper was by no means suitable to the system of despotism intended to be established by the King, Buckingham and Laud; he was too able an advocate for the religious and civil rights and privileges of the subject; he was therefore dismissed from his office as soon as it could be done with any appearance of decency, which was after the dissolution of the first parliament in this reign; between this event and the calling of a second parliament, Buckingham was allowed to remove those officers of the crown who had opposed his measures in the first, and amongst these was the lord-keeper, who joined with the earl of Pembroke and other patriots, in the upper house to obtain redress for the grievances complained of by the people. The seals were taken from the bishop of Lincoln in October 1625, and given to Sir Thomas Coventry. It was likewise hinted to him that his presence at the council-board would be dispensed with, and that he would incur the King's displeasure if he took his seat in the next parliament: with respect to the last injunction, the good bishop thought it his duty not to comply; on the contrary, finding that no writ had been issued to summon him, or the earl of Bristol, he joined with that nobleman in a complaint to the house of lords of this breach of privelege, and their lordships petitioned

petitioned the King that writs might be issued, which were done accordingly, and the bishop attended closely to his duty in the parliament of 1626, supporting the petition of right with patriotic zeal; which being resented by the court, a commission was appointed by the minister to make a strict scrutiny into his decrees in the chancery, the star-chamber, and the high commission courts, which terminated to his honour, and to the confusion of his enemies. However, in the end, they prevailed by the infamous management of archbishop Laud, who engaged two of his creatures, Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorpe, to lodge an information against him in the star-chamber for protecting of puritans, by discouraging them in their prosecution of these sectaries found in his diocese; and when this charge was found insufficient to incur any heavy penalty, Sir John Monson, another dependant on Laud, swore that the bishop of Lincoln had bribed the King's evidences, and thereby put a stop to a former prosecution commenced against him. After nine days deliberation, though the evidences who supported these charges were men of the most infamous character, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10000 *l.* to the king, another of 1000 marks to Sir John Monson, to be suspended by the high commission court from his ecclesiastical functions, and to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

Bishop Williams received the news of this unjust and oppressive sentence with great composure, saying, "Now the work is over, my heart is at rest; so is not many of theirs who have censured me." He was committed to the Tower, where he remained three years, and astonished even his enemies by his fortitude and patience, being as chearful as usual, and amusing himself with literary employments. Upon the meeting of the long parliament in November 1640, he petitioned the king, and obtained the

Queen's

Queen's mediation for his enlargement, and that he might have his writ as a peer to ſit in parliament; but ſuch was the influence of archbiſhop Laud and the lord-keeper Finch, that his Majeſty refuſed it; however, the houſe of lords thought proper to exert their authority upon this occaſion, for about a fortnight after they ſent the uſher of the black rod to the lieutenant of the Tower to demand the biſhop of Lincoln, and though the King was appriſed of this meaſure, he durſt not oppoſe it, and he was peaceably ſurrendered to the uſher, who conducted him to the houſe of peers, where he inſtantly took his ſeat. His Majeſty from the worſt of motives, a dread of his lodging complaints againſt the miniſtry, thought proper to be reconciled to him, and to order all the records of the informations and proceedings againſt him to be deſtroyed; not as ſome have aſſerted "that nothing might ſtand upon record againſt him," but in order to ſcreen Laud and the other judges who had paſſed ſentence upon him, from a parliamentary enquiry into their conduct, which was threatened by the leaders in the oppoſition; but ſuch was the amiable diſpoſition of this great and good man, that no intreaties or perſuaſions could induce him to proſecute his enemies, or indeed to complain of them to the houſe.

When the attainder of the earl of Strafford was before the houſe of peers, (according to the account given by Dr. Hacket, his chaplain, who was made biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the reign of Charles II.) he maintained the right of the bench of biſhops to vote in capital caſes, which was warmly conteſted; but Lord Clarendon, aſſerts the very contrary, and declares, that without communicating with any of his brethren, he not only withdrew when this buſineſs came on, but frankly declared, that where life was concerned, they ought not to be preſent.

preſent. From the character of biſhop Hacket, a man diſtinguiſhed for his piety, his learning, and his accuracy as an hiſtorian, we have reaſon to believe he has related the truth; eſpecially as lord Clarendon takes all occaſions to condemn the principles and conduct of Williams.

When the King declared that he neither would nor could in conſcience, give the royal aſſent to the act of attainder againſt Strafford, lord Say deſired the King to conſer with the biſhops for the ſatisfaction of his conſcience, and with biſhop Williams in particular, who adviſed him to reflect on his own ſituation: that his own life, his queen's, and his children's were in danger from the fury of the incenſed multitude, that the nation ſeemed to be unanimous in demanding the head of that unfortunate nobleman, and therefore as a king whoſe duty it was to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and to gratify the wiſhes of his ſubjects, it ought not to wound his conſcience, even though an innocent man ſhould ſuffer for the good of ſociety. Lord Clarendon has miſrepreſented this advice given by our prelate greatly to his diſadvantage, but upon examining other hiſtorians, it appears to amount to no more than we have juſt ſtated, and not to be reprehenſible, eſpecially as both houſes of parliament had previouſly condemned the earl.

The archiepiſcopal ſee of York becoming vacant in 1641, our prelate claimed the reverſion upon the ſtrength of the late king's promiſe, and the ſituation of public affairs making it expedient for Charles to retain in his ſervice a man of his political abilities and moderate temper, he was promoted to that dignity; and the ſame year, he made a very long and learned ſpeech in the houſe of lords, in oppoſition to the bill for depriving the biſhops of ſeats in that houſe, which occaſioned it to lay upon the

table five months. At length, the mob flocked about the parliament houſe, crying out "No biſhops, No biſhops," and inſulted many of them as they paſſed to the houſe, particularly the new made archbiſhop of York, who was perſonally aſſaulted and had his robes torn from his back: upon which it is acknowledged he loſt his temper, and retiring to his houſe, the deanery at Weſtminſter, he ſent for all the biſhops then in town, amounting with himſelf to twelve, when with great impetuoſity he propoſed and prepared a proteſtation, which was unanimouſly ſigned and ſent to the houſe of lords, "complaining of the violence by which they were prevented from attending; and proteſting againſt all the acts which were or ſhould be done during the time, that they ſhould by force be kept from doing their duties in the houſe." This proteſtation was no ſooner communicated to the houſe of peers, than the lords who had promoted the bill for depriving the prelates of their ſeats, expreſſed their joy at receiving it, and cried out, that this was *Digitus Dei* to accompliſh that which they had deſpaired of; and without paſſing any judgment upon it themſelves, they deſired a conference with the houſe of commons, who ſoon concurred with them to charge the proteſters, with being guilty of high treaſon, and to ſend them all to the Tower; accordingly they were committed and remained in priſon, till the bill was paſſed for depriving them of their ſeats in parliament, which did not happen till ſome months after. One gentleman only in the houſe of commons ſpoke in favour of the prelates, and that rather ſarcaſtically than with any intention to ſerve them; for he ſaid, "he did not believe they were guilty of high treaſon, but that they were ſtark mad, and therefore he deſired they might be ſent to Bedlam."

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In June 1642, when the King was at York, the archbiſhop was inſtalled in perſon in the cathedral, but in July his Majeſty was obliged to leave York, and the archbiſhop did not remain long after him, for the younger Hotham having ſworn to ſeize and put him to death for opprobrious words ſpoken againſt him concerning his uſage of the King at Hull, he thought proper to retire to Cawood Caſtle, where Dr. Ferne, whom he had formerly made archdeacon of Leiceſter, came to him one night very late, and adviſed him to leave the houſe and the county as faſt as poſſible, becauſe his adverſary was coming againſt him with a ſtrong force, and intended to attack the caſtle by five o'clock the next morning. Upon this intelligence, which proved to be true, the archbiſhop made his eſcape at midnight with a few horſe, and what effects he could carry off at ſuch ſhort notice. He retired into Wales to Aber Conway, where he had an eſtate, and he repaired and fortified Conway Caſtle, for the King's uſe, which ſo highly pleaſed his Majeſty, that by a letter dated from Oxford, Auguſt the 1ſt, 1643, he heartily deſired him to go on with that work; aſſuring him that he ſhould be reimburſed his expences, before the cuſtody of the caſtle was given to any other perſon than himſelf, or whom he ſhould recommend. The beginning of the following year the King having ſent for the archbiſhop to attend him at Oxford, he deputed the cuſtody of the caſtle to his nephew William Hooks, Eſq; and being arrived at Oxford, he cautioned his Majeſty againſt Oliver Cromwell, whom he repreſented as his moſt dangerous enemy, aſſuring him, that though he was at that time of mean rank and uſe in the army, he would ſoon climb higher. "I knew him ſaid, the archbiſhop at Bugden; but never knew his religion. He was a common ſpokeſman for ſectaries,

and maintained their parts with ſtubborneſs. He never diſcourſed as if he was pleaſed with your Majeſty and your great officers: indeed he loves none that are more than his equals. Your Majeſty did him but juſtice in repulſing a petition put up by him againſt Sir Thomas Steward, of the iſle of Ely, but he takes them all for his enemies, that would not let him undo his beſt friend: and above all that live, I think he is *injuriarium perſequentiſſimus*, as Portius Latro ſaid of Cataline. He talks openly that it is fit ſome perſon ſhould act more vigorouſly againſt your forces, and bring your perſon into the power of the parliament. He cannot give a good word of his general the earl of Eſſex, becauſe, he ſays, the earl is but half an enemy to your Majeſty, and hath done you more favour than harm. His fortunes are broken that it is impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, much leſs to be what he aſpires to, but by your Majeſty's bounty or by the ruin of us all, and a common confuſion, as one ſaid, *Lentulus ſalva republica ſalvus eſſe non potuit.* In ſhort, every beaſt hath ſome evil properties; but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beaſts. My humble motion is, that either you would win him to you by promiſes of fair treatment, or catch him by ſome ſtratagem and cut him off."

After ſome ſtay at Oxford, he returned to Wales, having received freſh inſtructions from the King to take care of all North Wales, but more particularly of Conway Caſtle, in which the people of the country by his permiſſion had placed their moſt valuable effects. In 1647, Sir John Owen, a colonel in the royal army, marching into that part of the country after a defeat, obtained of prince Rupert an appointment under his hand to the command of Conway Caſtle, and accordingly he entered it by force, though Williams produced the King's letter

letter in which he grants the command to him or his deputy, till his expences in repairing and fortifying it ſhould be refunded. Owen, ſo little was the regard paid to the royal orders, even by the King's own officers, not only detained the effects of the archbiſhop and of the people of the country, but even refuſed him ſome of his own beer and wine for preſent uſe. It was in vain that he remonſtrated to the king againſt Owen's conduct, and therefore finding no other means of redreſs, he conſented to join with the people whoſe effects were lodged in the caſtle, in aſſiſting colonel Milton, a zealous officer in the parliament ſervice, to force open the gates and retake it. The archbiſhop attended in perſon upon this occaſion, and ſurrendered the caſtle to colonel Milton upon the expreſs condition that every perſon ſhould receive his property detained by Owen, which he ſaw punctually performed; yet he was loudly cenſured by the royaliſts for this tranſaction.

From this time, no further mention is made of the archbiſhop in public life; he was ſo affected with the horrors of the civil war, and finally with the king's horrid cataſtrophe, that he paſſed the remainder of his days in cloſe retirement at the houſe of lady Moſtyn at Landegay, dividing his time between ſtudy and devotion, his natural chearfulneſs giving way to dejection and heavy grief, which put a period to his life, on the 25th of March (his birth-day) 1650. He was interred in the pariſh church of Landegay, where ſome years after his deceaſe, his nephew and heir Sir Griffith Williams erected a monument to his memory.

Archbiſhop Williams acquired ſome reputation as a theological writer by many ſermons which appeared in print, but more by the treatiſe which we have noticed in the life of Laud againſt that prelate's

innovations in the rites and ceremonies of the church. It is intitled, "The holy table, name and thing more antiently, properly, and literally uſed under the new teſtament, than that of altar, written long ago by a miniſter of Lincolnſhire in anſwer to Dr. Cole, a judicious divine of queen Mary's days." It was printed for the dioceſe of Lincoln in 1657, 4to, but has never been reprinted, and is now rarely to be met with. Though lord Clarendon was no friend to the archbiſhop, he repreſents this book as full of good learning, and that learning cloſely and ſolidly applied; and it has always been held in great eſteem by the diſſenters from the church of England, who venerate the character of our prelate as the only one of is order in his time, who had the courage to ſtand forth in ſupport of religious toleration. In his private life he is charged with oſtentation and luxury, but it does not appear that he deſerved this cenſure, for the whole accuſation amounts to no more than this, that he lived more hoſpitably than any of his predeceſſors at Bugden, and when he was lord-keeper he kept open houſe for all perſons of rank who travelled that way; and he ſeldom ſat down to table without ſome of the clergy of his dioceſe: he was alſo remarkably charitable to the poor, and when he was reproached for living with too much ſplendour he uſed to ſay: He would ſpend his own while he had it, for he thought his adverſaries would not let him enjoy it long. He continued his cuſtomary mode of living after he had incurred the diſpleaſure of king Charles, and was known to be in diſgrace; this enraged the miniſtry, and being told of it, he cooly replied; "that he knew not what he had done, to live the worſe for their ſakes, who did not love him." He was very liberal to poor ſcholars in both univerſities and to learned foreigners in diſtreſs: a remarkable inſtance

inſtance of which deſerves to be preſerved as an example to others of true and delicate munificence. Peter du Moulin, an eminent French proteſtant divine, fled to England to avoid the violent proſecutions carried on againſt that profeſſion in his own country; ſoon after his arrival the biſhop ordered his chaplain to make him a viſit; and ſuppoſing him to be in want, he ordered him to take ſome money for him, not naming any ſum. Upon which Hacket ſaid, he could not give him leſs than twenty pounds. "I did demur upon the ſum, ſaid the biſhop, to try you. Is twenty pounds a fit gift for me to give to a man of his parts and deſerts? Take an hundred, and preſent it from me, and tell him I will come ſhortly and viſit him myſelf." He was alſo a great patron to his countryman John Owen the epigrammatic poet, whom he maintained for ſeveral years, and when he died, he buried him and erected a monument to his memory at his own expence. His diſburſements wholly employed in acts of benevolence and charity, amounted yearly to 1000 *l.* and ſometimes to 1200 *l.* and it was extended to private gentlemen who were diſtreſſed by narrow fortunes and unable without his bounty to live in character. Yet he found means to repair and beautify the choir of Weſtminſter Abbey, to build a library for the college of St. John at Cambridge, where he received his education; and a chapel at Lincoln College, Oxford, from the ſingle circumſtance of its bearing the name of his dioceſe, having no connection whatever with that college.

An accident happened to him, when he was a boy, which Hacket relates in his life, and it ought to find a place here with the ſame good intent; to refute the ſcandalous reflections to be found in ſome writers his cotemporaries reſpecting the very cloſe intimacy which ſubſiſted between him and the coun-

tefs of Buckingham, the duke's mother. "He fuffered an adventitious accident when he was about feven years of age, which compelled him to actual chaftity. He took a leap, being then in long coats, from the walls of Conway town to the fea fhore, looking that the wind which was then very ftrong would fill his coats like a fail, and bear him up as it did his play-fellows. But he found it otherwife; for he did light with his belly upon a big, ragged ftone, which caufed a fecret infirmity, fitter to be underftood than farther defcribed; and want of timely remedy, the fkill of good furgery being little known in that country, continued it to his dying day."

*** *Authorities.* Life of Archbifhop Williams, by Doctor John Hacket, Bifhop of Litchfield and Coventry 1693. Fol. Clarendon's Hiftory of the great Rebellion, Vol. 4. Arthur Wilfon's Life of James I.

SUPPLEMENT.

Memoirs of BEAUMONT and FLETCHER and PHILIP MASSINGER, Dramatic Poets.

[A. D. 1576, to 1625.]

IT may be obferved that the æra of Britifh hiftory comprifed in this volume afforded little opportunity for the progrefs and improvement of the polite arts. The commercial fpirit which animated the main body of the nation in the days of Elizabeth,

beth, operated more powerfully in the reign of James I. the whole attention of the mercantile claſſes of the people was engroſſed by the infant colonies which were firmly eſtabliſhed, and began to repay the adventurers and proprietors with profit: this engaged greater numbers, in the hopes of ſimilar ſucceſs, to embark in commercial purſuits: And as to the nobility and gentry, from the acceſſion of James to the death of Charles, they were conſtantly involved in religious or political diſputes, and their chief buſineſs was the improvement of their eſtates, ſo that they had neither time nor inclination to patroniſe and cultivate thoſe arts which ſerve to embelliſh kingdoms, and to refine ſociety. The favorite public amuſements were thoſe of the theatre, and therefore dramatic poetry met with great encouragement; but as for ſculpture, painting and muſic, they were confined within the narrow circle of the court. James had a taſte for architecture, and took under his protection our countryman, the celebrated Inigo Jones. Charles, who had a more than ordinary ſkill in the liberal arts, continued Jones in the royal ſervice, but painting being the darling art with this monarch, he was more liberal of his favours and rewards to thoſe celebrated Flemiſh maſters, Sir Peter Paul Rubens and Vandyke; theſe he invited to England and retained in his ſervice a conſiderable time, and married the latter to one of his kinſwomen. At the ſame time, from an unhappy prejudice which has ever prevailed in this kingdom, but is now wearing off, (for which we ſtand indebted to the diſcernment and patriotiſm of his preſent majeſty,) an excellent Engliſh painter was neglected and died almoſt in penury. We ſhall conclude this brief introduction to the lives of the profeſſors of the liberal and polite arts during this period, by noticing that their moſt diſtinguiſhed patrons,

beſides the ſovereigns, were the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, and archbiſhop Laud; and that a famous Scotch muſician, whoſe name was Laws, was a particular favourite with Charles I. but we have not been able to trace any memoirs of this maſter, who was however ſtyled by his royal patron, "the father of Engliſh muſic."

Beaumont and Fletcher, were ſo intimately connected as authors and likewiſe as inſeparable friends and companions, that it has been uſual to blend their memoirs, but as the incidents of their ſeparate lives muſt neceſſarily differ, we ſhall give them ſeparate, ſo far as it can be done independent of their literary concerns.

MR. FRANCIS BEAUMONT was deſcended from an ancient family of his name ſettled at *Grace-dieu* in Leiceſterſhire, where he was born about the year 1585; his father was one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and his elder brother Sir John Beaumont followed the profeſſion of the law, from which he retired early in life, having married a lady of conſiderable fortune; and he then became no inconſiderable poet, as appears by ſome verſes written in praiſe of his poems by Ben Jonſon.

Our dramatic poet was educated at Cambridge, and from thence was admitted of the Inner Temple, being likewiſe deſigned for the law, but his poetic genius prevailing, he devoted himſelf ſo entirely to the muſes; that he quitted all other ſtudies, and it is ſuppoſed from the ſucceſs of the plays written by him and Fletcher, that he ſtood indebted to them for his ſubſiſtence during a very ſhort life, probably paſſed in gaiety and diſſipation, but of which we have no particular account; only we find that he died in 1615, before he was thirty years of age, and was buried at the entrance of St. Benedict's chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey.

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In the preface to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher we are told that he left one daughter named Frances Beaumont, who died in Leiceſterſhire in 1700. This lady had in her poſſeſſion ſeveral poems written by her father, but they were loſt at ſea in her voyage from Ireland, where ſhe had lived ſome time in the duke of Ormond's family. Beſides the plays in which he was jointly concerned with Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intitled, "a Maſque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen." "The "Inner Temple, a poetical epiſtle to Ben Jonſon;" "Verſes to his friend maſter John Fletcher, upon "his faithful ſhepherdeſs;" and other poems printed together in 1653, in octavo. Mr. Beaumont was eſteemed ſo good a judge of dramatic compoſitions, that Ben Jonſon ſubmitted his writings to his correction, and it is thought was much indebted to him for the contrivance of his plots. What an affection Jonſon had for him appears from the following verſes addreſſed to him.

How I do love thee, Beaumont, and thy muſe,
That unto me do'ſt ſuch religion uſe!
How do I fear myſelf that am not worth
The leaſt indulgent thought, thy pen drops forth.
At once thou makeſt me happy, and unmak'ſt;
And giving largely to me, more thou tak'ſt,
What fate is mine, that ſo itſelf bereaves!
What art is thine, that ſo thy friend deceives!
When, even there, where moſt thou praiſeſt me,
For writing better I muſt envy thee.

Sir John Beaumont ſurvived his brother many years, and as a ſpecimen of his poetry, it may not be improper to annex the lines he wrote upon his death, taken from Sir John's poem intitled "Boſworth Field."

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On death, thy murderer, this revenge I take,
I slight his terror, and just question make,
Which of us two the best precedence have,
Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
Thou shouldst have followed me, but death, to blame
Miscounted years, and measured age by fame.
So dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines;
Their praise grew swiftly, so thy life declines.
Thy muse, the hearer's queen, the readers love,
All ears, all hearts (but death's) could please and move.

Mr. JOHN FLETCHER was the son of Dr. Richard Fletcher, bishop of London, in 1594, a prelate not remarkably eminent, but whose memory is preserved in history on account of three remarkable circumstances. First, that he was the father of our poet. Secondly, that he incurred the displeasure of queen Elizabeth, who had an extreme aversion to the marriages of the clergy, especially of those whom she had advanced to the prelacy, by marrying when he was in the decline of life, a second wife, young and very handsome, for which offence she ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to suspend him for a time. Thirdly, that his sudden death, being to all appearance well, sick and dead in a quarter of an hour, was generally imputed to the immoderate use of tobacco, which brought that herb, the qualities of which were not then well known, into great disrepute. Our poet was born in Northamptonshire in 1576, and was educated at Cambridge, where he commenced his friendly intercourse with Beaumont: it is imagined he was of Bennet college, because his father had been a great benefactor to that society; not only in his life time, but by legacies in his will. No transactions of our poet's life are noticed by any biographers, except his literary performances, concerning which we are informed that he wrote plays in conjunction

junction with Beaumont, and that he assisted Ben Jonson in a comedy called "The Widow." He likewise lent his aid to another esteemed friend, Philip Massinger, a dramatic writer of inferior note, who flourished in the reign of James I. and published fourteen plays written by himself, besides those he wrote in conjunction with the other poets his cotemporaries, of whom, Middleton, Rowley, Field and Decker were properly the minor poets. Fletcher died of the plague in London in 1625, and was interred in the church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark; Massinger died suddenly in 1639, and was buried, according to Sir Aston Cockaine, in the same grave.

It is very singular that the lives of these three dramatic writers should have furnished few or no incidents worthy of record, so that they are indebted solely to their pens for posthumous reputation; a lesson this to mankind, pointing out a road to fame after death, attainable by the improvement of the human mind, where the scenes of life are laid in a private station, affording otherways no striking transaction worthy to be transmitted to the next generation.

It is not justly known what parts were allotted distinctively to each, in the plays composed by the joint labours of Beaumont and Fletcher. The prevailing opinion is, that Beaumont's cool judgment was usually employed in connecting and retrenching the exuberances of Fletcher's sprightly wit and humour, and that Beaumont likewise formed the plots, and most material incidents of the drama; yet, if Winstanley may be credited, his associate must at times have had a share in the business as well as the language of their pieces: for that author relates, in his lives of the poets, that Beaumont and Fletcher meeting once at a tavern,

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in order to ſketch the plan of a tragedy, Fletcher undertook to kill the king, which propoſition being overheard by a waiter, he very officiouſly ran to a neighbouring magiſtrate and lodged an information againſt them for high treaſon, upon which they were apprehended, but upon examination before the juſtice, it appearing that they meant no other but the king of their tragedy, they were diſcharged, and the matter getting wind, ended in mirth. After the death of Beaumont, Mr. Fletcher is ſaid to have conſulted Mr. James Shirley in forming the plots of ſeveral of his plays, but we have no rules for diſcovering which thoſe were, nor is it of any conſequence at this diſtance of time: it is more ſatisfactory to know in what degree of eſtimation our authors have been held by the eminent poets and critics of ſucceeding ages. Mr. Philips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum* obſerves, that he was one of the happy triumvirate of the chief dramatic poets of our nation in the laſt foregoing age, among whom there might be ſaid to be a ſymmetry of perfection, while each excelled in his peculiar way: Ben Jonſon in his elaborate pains and knowledge of authors: Shakeſpeare in his pure vein of wit and natural poetic height; and Fletcher in a courtly elegance and genteel familiarity of ſtyle, and withal a wit and invention ſo overflowing, that the luxuriant branches thereof were frequently thought convenient to be lopped off by his almoſt inſeparable companion Francis Beaumont.

Mr. Dryden, in his eſſay on dramatic poetry, remarks, that Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in his time were the moſt pleaſing and frequent entertainments, two of theirs being acted through the year, for one of Shakeſpeare's or Jonſon's; and the reaſon he aſſigns is, becauſe there is a certain gaiety in their comedies, and a pathos in their moſt ſerious plays,

plays, which suits generally with all men's humours. The case however is now reversed, for Shakespeare's plays are in full possession of the stage, while those of Beaumont and Fletcher are but rarely performed.

It must not be denied however that the works of our authors, though they have the sanction of the greatest names in their praise, are liable to many objections, and deserve censure, which they have not escaped. Mr. Rymer, the celebrated author "of the Fœdera, &c." has criticised them in a book intitled, "the tragedies of the last age considered and examined by the practice of the ancients, and by the common sense of all ages." In this tract the curious researcher will find their faults pointed out with more truth than good humour, and to balance this he must refer to the beauties illustrated by Denham, Waller, and the other admirers of our authors already mentioned.

The first edition of all the works of Beaumont and Fletcher amounting to upwards of fifty plays, was published in Folio, in 1679. Another edition was published in 1711, in 7 Vols. 8vo. and another in 1751, in 10 Vols. 8vo.

*** *Authorities.* Fuller's Worthies in Northamptonshire. Jacob's Poetical Register. Winstanley—and Cibber's lives of the Poets. Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

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The LIFE of

BEN JONSON,

DRAMATIC POET.

[A. D. 1574, to 1634.]

With Memoirs of MICHAEL DRAYTON, and WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

BEN JONSON, one of the fathers of the Engliſh theatre, was the fruit of a poſthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father. Being born in Weſtminſter, he was put to a private ſchool in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields; but removed thence at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his maſter. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman, this ſtep ſeems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the church. But the widow being left in narrow circumſtances, thought fit to accept an offer of marriage, made to her by a bricklayer; and, after her ſon had continued ſome years at Weſtminſter School, and made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning, ſhe took him away, and obliged him to work under his ſtep-father.

This was nipping the firſt ſprig of his dawning genius in the bud; his ſpirit was not of a temper

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to take the bent of so mortifying a change. In the depth of his resentment, he left his mother; and inlisting himself a soldier, was carried to the English army, then engaged against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory which rarely falls to the lot of a private soldier. In an encounter with a single man of the enemy, he slew his opponent; and stripping him, carried off the spoils in the view of both armies.

Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and resuming his studies, went to St. John's college in Cambridge. But here he had soon the misfortune to undergo a second mortification. The scantiness of his purse not supplying him with the decent conveniencies of learned ease, he found himself under a necessity of quitting the seat of the muses, after a short stay there. In this exigence he took a course, not uncommon to persons of such a genius under the like distress. He applied to the play-houses, and was admitted into an obscure one, called the Green Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch and Clerkenwell. He had not been long in this station, when, not contenting himself with the business of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote some pieces for the stage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius.

During his continuance in this humble station, he had a quarrel with one of the players; who sending him a challenge, there ensued a duel, wherein Jonson killed his adversary. For this offence being thrown into prison, under that misfortune his spirit was sunk into such a degree of melancholy, that he became a fit object to be subdued by the crafty attacks of a popish priest; who officiously visited him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce the doctrine he was bred in, and become

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a Roman catholic, and he remained twelve years within the pale of that church. But not long after this change in his religious condition, he alſo made a change in his civil one, and took to himſelf a wife, having firſt obtained his releaſement from priſon. His ſpirit revived with his liberty; and, in defiance of all the diſcouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unparalleled induſtry, improved his genius ſo much, that at length he produced a play; which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakeſpeare, that humane, good-natured bard, reſolving to do full juſtice to its merit, brought it upon the ſtage where he was a manager, and acted a part in it himſelf.

Thus encouraged, his genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intitled, "Every Man in his Humour," made its appearance on the ſame ſtage in 1598. This was followed the next year by "Every Man out of his Humour." And he continued, in like manner, to furniſh a new play every year, till he was called off by the maſques and entertainments made for the reception of king James I. on his acceſſion to the throne of England. He was continually retained in this employ, on all occaſions, during the remainder of his life.

But theſe ſlighter efforts of his muſe did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of "Volpone, or the Fox;" which being finiſhed in the ſpace of five weeks, did not hinder him from indulging the ſourneſs of his temper, in a ſatirical comedy, called, "Eaſtward Hoe," written about this time againſt the Scotch nation. In this piece of intemperance, Chapman and Marſton were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to priſon, and brought in

in danger of losing their ears and noses in the pillory; but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon.

To repair this fault, Jonson sacrificed both his time and his muse, almost intirely, to gratify the taste of the court in masques, for some years; so that his next play did not make its appearance till 1609. But he made some amends for the length of this interval, by the perfection of the piece, which he intitled, "Epicene, or the Silent Woman;" this being generally esteemed the most exact and finished comedy that our nation hath produced. And the next year he brought forth "The Alchemist," one of the best of his comedies; but that was followed the ensuing year, 1611, by the worst of his tragedies, intitled, "Cataline."

In 1613 our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview and conversation with cardinal Perron, whom he treated with that frankness and bluntness which was natural to him. It was about this time that he commenced a quarrel with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the subject of his ridicule, in his next comedy, called, "Bartholomew Fair," acted in 1614. That was succeeded by "The Devil's an Ass," in 1616. This year, he published his works in one folio volume; and the poet-laureat's salary, of an hundred marks per annum, was settled upon him for life, by king James I. the same year.

Crowned with these honours by his prince, he saw the most distinguished wits of his time crowding his train and courting his acquaintance. And, in that Spirit, he was invited to Christ-Church in Oxford, by Dr. Corbet, then senior-student of that college. Our poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having passed some time in cultivating his muse in that delightful seat, he received an additional attestation

atteſtation of his merit from the univerſity, who preſented him with the honorary degree of maſter of arts, at the act in 1619. On the death of the laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Jonſon ſucceeded to that poſt, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before.

The year had not expired when, our new crowned laureat took a tour into Scotland, on purpoſe to viſit a favourite brother-poet, Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in that country. He paſſed ſome months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a moſt unreſerved freedom and confidence, the ſweeteſt gift of friendſhip. Our author was much pleaſed with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, with ſeveral more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loſs drew from him a poem, which he called, "An Execration upon Vulcan." He ſeems to have let no year paſs without the amuſement of writing ſome of theſe ſmaller pieces. And thoſe, with the maſques, which the office of poet-laureat then particularly called for every Chriſtmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625; when his comedy, intitled, "The Staple of News," appeared upon the ſtage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill ſtate of health, which, however, did not hinder the diſcharge of his duty at court. And he found time alſo to gratify the more agreeable exerciſe of play-writing; for in 1629, he brought another comedy, called, "The New Inn, or the light Heart" to the theatre. But here his adverſaries prevailed over him; the play was hiſſed out of the houſe on its firſt appearance there; and our laureat had recourſe to his pride for revenge, which dictated an ode to himſelf, threatening to leave the ſtage, which

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he did ſoon after. This ſtep having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the king, Charles I. graciouſly ſent him a purſe of an hundred pounds. That goodneſs was properly and in character repaired by the following epigram, addreſſed to his royal benefactor.

Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
Annexed to thy perſon and thy place,
'Tis not enough (thy piety is ſuch)
To cure the called king's-evil with a touch,
But thou wilt yet a kingly maſt'ry try,
To cure the poet's evil, poverty:
And in theſe cures doſt to thyſelf enlarge,
As thou doſt cure our evil at thy charge.
Nay, and in this thou ſhew'ſt to value more,
One poet, than of other folks ten ſcore.
O piety! ſo to weigh the poor's eſtates,
O bounty! ſo to difference the rates.
What can the poet wiſh his king may do,
But that he cure the people's evil too?

But his majeſty's munificence did not ſtop here; he augmented the laureat's ſalary of an hundred marks, to an hundred pounds a year, together with the addition of a tierce of canary wine; which penſion has been continued to his ſucceſſors in that office ever ſince. Our poet obtained this favour by the annexed droll petition:

The humble petition of poor Ben,
To the beſt of monarchs, maſters, men,
King Charles.

Doth moſt humbly ſhew it,
To your majeſty, your poet:
That whereas your royal father
James the bleſſed, pleaſed the rather,

Of

Of his ſpecial grace to letters,
To make all the muſes debtors
To his bounty: by extenſion
Of a free poetic penſion,
A large hundred marks annuity,
To be given me in gratuity,
For done ſervice, and to come:
And that this ſo accepted ſum;
Or diſpenſed in books or bread,
(For on both the muſe was fed)
Hath drawn on me from the times,
All the envy of the rhimes,
And the rat'ling pit-pat noiſe
Of the leſs poetic boys,
When their pot-guns aim to hit,
With their pellets of ſmall wit,
Parts of one (they judg'd) decay'd,
But we laſt out ſtill unlay'd.
Pleaſe your majeſty to make,
Of your grace, for goodneſs' ſake,
Thoſe your father's marks your pounds:
Let their ſpite (which now abounds)
Then go on and do its worſt,
This would all their envy burſt:
And ſo warm the poet's tongue,
You'll read a ſnake in his next ſong.

King Charles the firſt's perſonal character makes it no improbable ſuppoſition, that theſe acts of bounty might be in ſome meaſure the effects of his compaſſion for this ſervant, who began now to ſink into a viſible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies wrote by him afterwards; but they are ſuch as have not been unfitly called, his dotage; and he found himſelf under a neceſſity of abſolutely laying down his pen ſoon after the year 1634.

His diſorder was the palſy, which put a period to his life in Auguſt 1637, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He was interred three days afterwards in Weſtminſter Abbey, at the north weſt end, near the belfry. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-ſtone, with this laconic inſcription, "O rare Ben. Jonſon." It was done at the expence of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Young, of Great-Milton in Oxfordſhire. But a much better monument was raiſed to his memory ſix months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intitled, "Jonſonicus Verbius! or, the Memory of Ben Jonſon revived by the Friends of the Muſes." And preſently after, there was a deſign ſet on foot to erect a marble monument with his ſtatue, and a conſiderable ſum of money was collected for the purpoſe; but the breaking out of the rebellion prevented the carrying it into execution, and the money was returned. The buſt, in bas-relieve, with the former inſcription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in the Poets Corner, near the ſouth-eaſt entrance into the abbey, was ſet up by that great patron of learning, the ſecond earl of Oxford, of the Harley family.

As to our poet's own family, it became extinct in him, for he ſurvived all his children. As to his perſon and character, if we may depend on his own deſcription, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky, and his countenance hard and rocky; ſo that his figure greatly reſembled that of Sir John Falſtaff, and conſequently could not be much leſs apt to raiſe laughter. Nor was the caſt of his temper and natural diſpoſition at all more reſpectable, as repreſented by his friend Mr. Drummond, who obſerves him to be "A great lover and praiſer of himſelf; a contemner and ſcorner of others; chuſing rather

rather to loſe his friend than his jeſt; jealous of every word and action of thoſe about him, eſpecially after drink, which was one of the elements in which he lived; a diſſembler of the parts which reigned in him; a bragger of ſome good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, but what either himſelf or ſome of his friends had ſaid or done. He was paſſionately kind and angry; careleſs either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well anſwered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the beſt ſayings and deeds often to the worſt. He was for either religion, being verſed in both; oppreſſed with fancy, which over-maſtered his reaſon; a general diſeaſe among the poets." He had a very ſtrong memory; for he tells us himſelf in his "Diſcoveries," that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of ſome ſelect friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with.

As to his genius, the character of it, in reſpect to dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon. To which muſt be added Mr. Pope's remark, that, "When our author got poſſeſſion of the ſtage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from thoſe frequent leſſons (and indeed almoſt declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his firſt plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove the prejudices and reform the judgment of his hearers. 'Till then, the Engliſh authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the ancients: their tragedies were only hiſtories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no leſs implicitly than if it had been true hiſtory."

Ben Jonſon appears to have had no nice ear for poetry; however, Mr. Drummond declares that his inventions were ſmooth and eaſy. He does not

appear to have had much conception of thoſe breaks and reſts, or of adapting the ſound of his verſe to the ſenſe, which are the chief beauties of our beſt modern poets. 'Tis univerſally agreed, with his laſt-mentioned friend, that tranſlation or imitation was his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent, wherein he excelled all his cotemporaries; and beſides his new-forming our drama after the antient models, he gave us the firſt Pindaric ode in the Engliſh language, that has any juſt claim to that title.

After the edition of his works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in ſix volumes octavo; and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, ſeven volumes octavo, with ſome notes and additions by P. Whalley, late fellow of St. John's college in Oxford; who hath likewiſe inſerted Jonſon's comedy, intitled, "The Caſe is Alter'd," not in any former edition.

There is reaſon to believe that he had a deſign to write an epic poem, and was to call it Crologia, or the Worthies of his country, all in couplets, as he deteſted all other rhime. It is likewiſe ſaid, that he actually wrote a diſcourſe on poetry, both againſt Campion and Daniel, eſpecially the laſt, where he proved couplets to be the beſt ſort of verſes.

It has been already noticed, that our poet lived in great friendſhip with Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland. Mr. Drummond was a cotemporary author and poet, therefore conciſe memoirs of this gentleman, and of Michael Drayton, another poet of great repute in thoſe days may, with great propriety, be annexed to his life.

MICHAEL DRAYTON was born at Harſhull in Warwickſhire, in the year 1563, but his family which was ancient, derived their name from the town of Drayton in Leiceſterſhire. At ten years of age it

appears that he was page to some person of distinction, by whom it is probable he was sent to Oxford, where, we, are told he enquired of his tutor, "what kind of creatures poets were," and desired him of all things, if possible, to make him a poet: which we find was effected, for he became eminent in this character several years before the death of queen Elizabeth; and in the year 1593, he published a collection of pastorals, under the title of "Idea: the Shepherd's Garland, fashioned in nine eclogues; with Rowland's Sacrifices to the nine Muses" in 4to. these poems established his reputation as a pastoral poet, and by the English critics they were deemed equal to Boccace. Mr Drayton reprinted them in Folio, in 1619 with considerable emendations, under the title of "Pastorals containing Eclogues: with the Man in the Moon."

But his serious poems on important subjects do the greatest honour to his memory. "The Baron's wars." "England's heroic epistles." "The downfalls of Robert of Normandy, Matilda and Gaveston," were all composed and made their appearance in the world about the year 1598; the patriotic turn of these pieces, joined to the moral character of the author, acquired him universal esteem It is not certain what walk of life he pursued, but as early as the year 1588, it is conjectured he was in the military service of his country, for by his description in one of his poems, of the Spanish invasion, it appears that he was a spectator at Dover of the defeat of the Armada, and that he was conversant with military men.

On the accession of James I. Mr. Drayton presented a congratulatory poem to his Majesty, which was printed in 4to. but to his great mortification it was not very graciously received, which occasioned him to seek for a patron in Henry Prince of Wales,

to

to whom he dedicated his first part of his heroic poem, intitled, Poly-Olbion, by which Greek title, signifying "very happy," he denotes England. It is a chorographical description of this country in English verses of twelve feet, comprized in eighteen songs, illustrated with notes by Selden the famous antiquary; it is much admired for its historic truth; unfortunately the prince died before the second part was completed, and this fresh disappointment made Drayton give up all hopes of preferment at court. However he dedicated this part to prince Charles, and gives a hint of extending his plan to Scotland, but probably want of encouragement made him decline it.

The second volume of Mr. Drayton's poems was published in 1627, containing, "The Battle of Agincourt." "The miseries of queen Margaret," "The court of Fairies." "The quest of Cynthia." "The Shepherd's Syrena." "Elegies," and, "The Moon Calf," a severe satire upon the masculine affectation of the women, and the effeminate disguises of the men in his time; which vile habits were introduced with the love of masques then greatly in vogue. His last performance was a third volume of poems published in 1630, under the title of "The Muses Elyzium;" including three divine poems, "On Noah's flood." "The birth and miracles of Moses," and, "David and Goliath." The three latter pieces being greatly inferior to his other performances are not reprinted in the last edition of his works.

Michael Drayton died in 1631, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, where his monument with his effigies may be found, in the poet's corner.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, a native of Scotland, was the son of Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden, gentleman usher to James VI. before he came

to the throne of England. He was born in 1585; received part of his education at Edinburgh, and in the year 1606 was sent to the university of Bourges in France to complete it. There he studied the civil law, and made such a progress in that science, that if he had took to the practice, it is supposed he would have been the most eminent lawyer of his time, in Scotland. But his genius inclining him to history and poetry, he retired upon his father's death to his paternal estate at Hawthornden, where he spent his time in reading the greek and latin poets, and oblig'd the world with several excellent productions in prose and verse. "His Cypress grove," an admired composition in prose, was first published after a dangerous fit of illness; and soon after, "The Flowers of Sion" a poem.

A melancholy circumstance obliged him once more to visit foreign countries, in order to alleviate and dissipate his grief. This was, the death of an amiable lady, to whom he was on the point of being married. He took up his residence sometimes at Paris, and sometimes at Rome, from which places he visited the several universities of France, Italy and Germany, conversing and corresponding with all the learned men of the age; at the same time, he made a valuable collection of ancient and modern books: thus enriched with further acquisitions of knowledge, after eight years absence, he returned to his native country, but finding it involved in a civil war, he retired again to the continent, but to what part is not certain. During this last absence he is supposed to have written his history of five of the kings of Scotland of the name of James, which was not published till after his death. Besides this work, he composed several political tracts against the covenanters, and the party in opposition

oppoſition to Charles I. Alſo a celebrated piece intitled, "Irene" being a political and moral oration addreſſed to the king, the nobility and the clergy, on the ſubject of their mutual jealouſies, and demonſtrating from reaſon and hiſtory that a civil war muſt be the conſequence. The marquis of Montroſe having procured a copy of Irene, deſired him to print it as the beſt means of quieting the minds of the people; he likewiſe ſent him a protection in 1645, with a letter in which he praiſes his loyalty and learning. From this circumſtance, and that of his having married the year before, it is probable he had returned to ſome part of Scotland as early as the year 1641. He kept up an intimate friendſhip and correſpondence with Drayton and Ben Jonſon to the time of his death, which happened in 1649. His works were collated and publiſhed in one volume, in Folio, with his life prefixed, at Edinburgh 1711.

*** *Authorities.* General Biog. Dict. Vol. 4. Life of Drummond prefixed to his works.

The LIFE of

SIR ROBERT COTTON, BART.

Including Memoirs of JOHN SPEED.

[A. D. 1570, to 1631.]

THE celebrated founder of the Cottonian library, whose memory as a patron of learning must ever be revered by the sons of science, was the son of Thomas Cotton, Esq; a private gentleman, possessed of a considerable estate at Denton Hall near Connington in Huntingdonshire; he was born there in the year 1570; and was sent to Trinity college in Cambridge to complete his education. In 1585, he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts; and soon after he retired from the university, and lived some time with his father at Denton, but at length finding it necessary to acquire some improvements requisite to form the character of the real gentleman, which can only be attained by social intercourse with the great world, he went to London, where the bent of his disposition, which led him to curious and learned researches into Antiquity, soon became known, and he was introduced to a society of Antiquarians, composed of men of the first abilities and of distinguished rank; with these he constantly associated, and it was owing in a great measure to his ingenuity and attentive care that a regular body of antiquarians were soon after formed into a society, under that title.

Mr. Cotton now directed his studies to history and antiquities, and being liberally supported by his father

father he began to purchaſe, and to collect ancient curious, hiſtorical records, ſuch as treaties, charters, patents, and other valuable manuſcripts. About the year 1600, having formed an intimacy with Mr. Camden, he reſolved to gain experimental knowledge in his favourite ſubjects, by travelling with that celebrated antiquarian to the North, and in the courſe of the excurſion, Mr. Camden ſtood indebted to him for many explanations relative to dubious and obſcure circumſtances in hiſtory, which he candidly acknowledges in his *Britannia*.

About the time of his return, a diſpute had ariſen between the courts of England and Spain, concerning the precedency claimed by the ambaſſadors of each, at the courts of foreign princes; and queen Elizabeth being upon the point of ſending Sir Henry Neville and others to Boulogne, in quality of her commiſſioners to negociate a peace with Spain through the mediation of the Archduke Albert, to whom Spain had already ſent an embaſſy; her Majeſty commanded the newly eſtabliſhed antiquarian ſociety to give their opinion upon the ſubject, and this occaſioned a publication by Mr. Cotton, in defence of the precedency claimed by England, intitled, "A Brief Abſtract of the queſtion of precedency between England and Spain." But neither Mr. Cotton's treatiſe, nor the firm reſolution of the Engliſh court to maintain the precedency, had any weight with the Spaniſh commiſſioners, who unable to carry their point of precedency, abruptly broke up the conferences, and put an end to the negociation.

Whether it was owing to the bad ſucceſs of this affair, or to any other cauſe, we find no notice taken of the extraordinary abilities of Mr. Cotton by Elizabeth or her miniſtry. But upon the acceſſion of James I. he became known at court, and he was in the long liſt of baronets created by that

monarch on the first institution of that dignity, May 22d, 1611, in the 9th year of the reign of that monarch: from this time we are informed, that his learning and merit were so conspicuous that he was not only held in high esteem by all men of eminence in the republic of letters, but that he was consulted by administration as an oracle, upon all points of controversy between the court and the people, respecting the political constitution of England.

The terms of the proposed union of England and Scotland were submitted to his opinion. He was desired to give in a state of the laws of England before the conquest; and of the revenues granted to the kings from time to time. His advice was required with respect to the nature of the dignity and precedency of knights of the bath; and upon the grand question concerning the expediency and utility of debasing the coin, the ministry entirely relied upon his judgment.

In consideration for these services, in 1608, he was appointed one of the commissioners to enquire into the state of the Navy which had been greatly neglected since the demise of Elizabeth, and he drew up a memorial of their proceedings, which was very graciously received by the king; and having been deeply concerned in the scheme of raising money for the king by the institution of the dignity of baronets, each baronet being obliged to pay 1095 *l.* on passing the patent, in lieu of maintaining thirty foot soldiers for three years in Ireland, he was raised to that dignity himself, as we have before noticed.

About this time, Sir Robert Cotton wrote "a discourse of the lawfulness of combats to be performed in the presence of the king, or the constable, or earl marshal of England". This piece was printed at London in 1651, and again in 1672. He likewise drew up, an answer, the same year 1609,

1609, "to such motives as were offered by certain military men to prince Henry, to incite him to affect arms more than peace."

While the treaty of marriage was in agitation between prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, the house of commons, being violently against the match, employed Sir Robert Cotton, to point out, from a review of the treaties between England and the house of Austria, the insincerity and duplicity of the latter; and to prove, that in all their transactions they aimed only at universal monarchy. This tract is printed in the *Cottoni Posthuma*, under the title of "A Remonstrance of the treaties of Amity, &c."

In 1621, he wrote a popular piece, intitled, "A relation to prove, that the kings of England have been pleased to consult with their peers in the great council, and the commons in parliament, of marraige, peace and war." Indeed he appears upon all occasions to have acted upon independent principles, and to have espoused the cause of his country, though he was upon friendly terms with the court, whenever the latter acted contrary to its true interests. But in his religious opinions, he was a slave to the church Hierarchy; and the worst performance he wrote "was an answer to certain arguments raised from supposed antiquity, and urged by some members of the lower house of parliament, to prove that ecclesiastical laws ought to be enacted by temporal men." In his attempt to refute these notions he builds, upon antiquity alone, an exclusive, right in herentin the priesthood, to enact ecclesiastical laws.

In the first parliament under Charles I, he was one of the members for Huntingdon, and distinguished himself by joining the party who insisted on an immediate redress of the grievances under which the

nation then laboured, but he adviſed mild and prudent meaſures. He was therefore ſtill confided in by the court, ſo far as to be conſulted concerning a plan propoſed to be carried into execution, in order to raiſe money for the crown; this was to debaſe the coin; a ſcheme which Sir Robert powerfully and ſucceſsfully oppoſed in a ſpeech before the privy council, wherein he repreſented the diſhonour that muſt enſue to the king, and the damages to the ſubjects from ſuch a meaſure. This happened in 1626, and from this time we have no anecdotes concerning him worthy of record. All we know further is, that he continued to live in great reputation to the time of his death; he died of a fever, at his houſe at Weſtminſter in 1631, and his remains were interred in the pariſh church of Connington.

Sir Robert Cotton's literary abilities were very great in hiſtory, policy and antiquities, and they procured him the correſpondence of the moſt learned foreigners of the age, as well as the friendſhip of the moſt eminent of his countrymen. And though he was courted by perſons of the firſt quality in the kingdom; he was neither dogmatic nor arrogant, but ſought for, and became the patron of men of genius, however humble in their ſtations or depreſſed by fortune. To theſe his houſe and his library were conſtantly open. This noble diſpoſition firſt brought him acquainted with John Speed, the Britiſh hiſtorian, to whom he proved a ſerviceable friend, aſſiſting him both by advice and by liberal preſents.

SPEED was born in Cheſhire, about the year 1555, of obſcure parents, and brought up to the buſineſs of a taylor, which he followed for ſome time in London, and was a freeman of the company of Merchant

Merchant Taylors. The circumstances which induced him to quit his vocation and apply himself to the study and writing of history are not transmitted to us; or any other incidents of his life, till the year 1606, the fifty-first of his age, when he published his "Theatre of Great Britain." It is most probable, that after this publication he became acquainted with Camden, Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Henry Spelman, who all assisted him in his future studies and performances; but Sir Robert Cotton was his particular friend, and it may be easily conjectured, that he encouraged him to throw up his business, for the more honourable profession of an historian.

In 1614, Mr. Speed published in Folio, "The history of Great Britain under the conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; their originals, manners, wars, coins, and seals, with the successions, lives, acts and issues of the English monarchs, from Julius Cæsar to our most gracious sovereign king James, dedicated to that prince." The theatre of Great Britain, being a Geographical description of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the isles adjoining, was designed as a proper introduction to his history, or chronicle, which is both accurate and copious; and to which is prefixed recommendatory poems in Latin, French, and English, by Sir Henry Spelman and other eminent men.

Mr. Speed also published a kind of sacred chronology in 1616, intitled "The cloud of witnesses, or the genealogies of scripture, confirming the truth of holy history and the humanity of Christi". He died in 1629, and was buried in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where a monument was erected to his memory.

The monument prepared by Sir Robert Cotton,

Cotton in his life-time, as a durable memorial of himself was his curious and valuable library; consisting of a fine collection of manuscripts, relating chiefly to the history and antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. This library was kept in his own house at Westminster near the house of commons, and it was greatly improved by his only son and heir Sir Thomas Cotton, whose son, Sir John Cotton considerably enlarged it.

In 1701, the Cottonian library was made the property of the public, by virtue of an act of parliament for the better securing and preserving this library in the name and family of the Cottons, as trustees for the public, that it might not be sold, or otherwise disposed of and embezzled. In the reign of queen Anne, Sir John Cotton, great grandson of the founder, agreed to sell Cotton-house to her majesty, to be a repository for the royal, as well as the Cottonian library, upon which an act was made for the better securing her majesty's purchase of that house, and both the house and the library were settled and vested in public trustees, independent of the Cotton family, but the library retained the name, as it does to this day. Cotton house was then set apart for the house of the Royal librarian, who took under his care the joint libraries. Some years after, the Cottonian library was removed to a house near Westminster abbey, purchased by the crown of lord Ashburnham; and here a fire happened on the 23d of October 1731, when 99 volumes were consumed, and 111, greatly damaged. It was thereupon removed to the new, and afterwards to the old Dormitory belonging to Westminster school. There it remained till it was removed, in pursuance of the act of parliament of 1753, for establishing the British Museum, and now makes part of that national repository of antiquities, natural philosophy, and literature.

We

We have only to add a list of Sir Robert Cotton's works, not mentioned in the course of his memoirs. They are,

1. A relation of the proceedings against any ambassadors, who have miscarried themselves, and exceeded their commissions.

2. That the sovereign's person is required in the great councils or assemblies of the states, as well at the consultations as at the conclusions.

3. The argument made by the command of the house of commons, out of the acts of parliament, and authority of law expounding the same, at a conference with the lords, concerning the liberty of the person of every freeman.

4. A brief discourse concerning the power of the peers and commons of parliament, in point of judicature. These four are printed in *Cotton's Posthuma.*

5. A short view of the long life and reign of Henry III. king of England, written in 1614, and presented to king James I. He also left some manuscripts which may be found in the catalogue of his library, at the Museum.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Birch's Lives. Gen. Biog. Dict.

The

The LIFE of

SIR HENRY SPELMAN,

ANTIQUARIAN.

[A. D. 1561, to 1643.]

THIS celebrated antiquarian, whose indefatigable assiduity and great learning threw a new light on the study of the laws and antiquities of his country, was a descendant from an antient family in the county of Norfolk. He was born at Cengham near Lynn, in the year 1561, and before he was fifteen years of age, he was sent to Trinity college in Cambridge, where he remained only two years and an half, the death of his father obliging him to return home to assist his mother in settling the affairs of the family. As soon as he had completed this business, he entered himself a student of Lincoln's Inn, and applied himself with great diligence to the study of the law, which profession it is probable he intended to have embraced; if fortune had not provided for him in a different manner: in his occasional excursions to his native country, he became acquainted with a lady of distinction, possessed of an ample fortune, who accepted his addresses, and to whom he was married after he had been near three years at Lincoln's Inn; this change in his affairs determined him to live a retired life in

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the country; and he now made his ſtudies a chief part of his rural amuſements; but he did not confine them to the profeſſional buſineſs of the law, but extended them to a general inquiry into the political conſtitution, laws and antiquities of England.

In 1604, he was nominated by James I. high ſheriff of the county of Norfolk, and the duties of this public ſtation leading him into the ſociety of men of the firſt rank in the ſervice of the government, the king was very ſoon made acquainted with his great talents for affairs of ſtate, ſo far as reſpected the internal adminiſtration of government: Mr. Spelman having acquired a complete knowledge of all the antient prerogatives of the crown, of the priveleges, immunities, and cuſtoms of the eccleſiaſtical and other courts, and of the rights of the ſubject. His majeſty in conſequence of the repreſentations made to him, ſent for Mr. Spelman to court in 1607, and appointed him to be one of the commiſſioners for determining the unſettled and diſputed titles to lands and manors in Ireland, which had been thrown into great confuſion by the ſales and other alienations of eſtates occaſioned by the rebellions in that kingdom during the late reign. Mr. Spelman acquitted himſelf ſo highly to the ſatisfaction of the king in three different voyages he made to Ireland by his majeſty's command, upon this buſineſs, that after it was completed, he made him one of the commiſſioners to inquire into the oppreſſion of the fees exacted in all the courts and public offices in England as well eccleſiaſtical as civil; an examination which reflected great honour on the king. This buſineſs, for which Mr. Spelman was ſo eminently qualified, he purſued with unremitted zeal, and ſtrict impartiality, for ſeveral years, to the great detriment of his family, expending in it great part of his fortune, without receiving any recom-

recompence from the crown. To account for this it must be observed, that the very nature of the employment created him a number of enemies at court, for it affected the perquisites and emoluments of office, and thereby lessened the incomes of several great officers and their dependants, both in church and state. But the clergy in particular he highly displeased, by publishing a learned treatise, in consequence of the discoveries he had made in the execution of his commission, intitled, *De Sepultura*, of burial fees, in which he makes it evidently appear, that the greatest part of the fees exacted by the clergy and ecclesiastical officers for burials, is a gross imposition.

At length however, the king conferred upon our industrious antiquarian, the honour of knighthood, and sent him a present of 300 *l.* not as a full recompence, (so it is expressed in the king's warrant to the treasurer preserved in Rymer's fœdera) but only as an occasional remembrance, till something more equal to his merit could be done for him.

About the year 1612, Sir Henry Spelman removed his family to London, to a house in Barbican, and here he fixed his residence for the remainder of his life: not with any view of making his fortune at court, but to enjoy the society of his learned cotemporaries, and to facilitate the publication of his elaborate works. In 1613, his famous treatise was published, intitled, *De non temerandis ecclesiis*, "churches not to be violated," and this increased his reputation considerably as an *historical antiquarian*; if I may be allowed the expression, with a view to distinguish such useful researches into antiquity, from the modern triflers, whose knowledge and studies are confined to the distinction of the classes of shells and fossils, but who invest themselves with the venerable titles of antiquarians and philosophers.

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In 1626, Our author publiſhed the firſt part of his well known gloſſary in Latin, under the title of *Archæologus*; a work calculated to promote and facilitate the ſtudy of engliſh antiquities, by explaining the obſcure and obſolete words, terms and phraſes generally made uſe of in our old hiſtories and law books. Sir Henry in an advertiſement prefixed to the work has aſſigned his reaſons for preferring this title to that of Gloſſarium; "which ſays he, is ſtrictly ſpeaking no more than a bare explication of words, whereas this not only explains obſolete terms, but treats more eſpecially of things, and contains entire diſcourſes and diſſertations upon ſeveral heads." In fact, it is a moſt valuable treaſure of the antient conſtitution and cuſtoms of England. He was encouraged and aſſiſted in this undertaking by the moſt eminent men of the age at home and abroad, to whom he candidly makes his acknowledgements in the preface, particularly to the learned archbiſhop Uſher, biſhop Williams, then lord keeper, Mr. Selden, and Sir Robert Cotton, his countryman. And, to the following learned foreigners; Jerome Bignon of Paris, a celebrated writer on the Roman antiquities, at the tender age of *thirteen*, who acquired the higheſt reputation as he advanced in life, and is uſually ſtyled *Bignonius*: to *Johannes Meurſius* of Utrecht, an eminent profeſſor of hiſtory and politics, and the Greek language at Leyden; author of ſeveral learned works reſpecting the antient ſtate of Greece: and to *Lindenbruch*, a famous Flemiſh Civilian, who is commonly ſtyled *Lindembrogius*; and is memorable for a curious work intitled *Codex legum antiquarum, ſeu leges Wiſigothorum, Burgundium*, &c. publiſhed at Frankfort in 1613, and now become ſcarce.

With the ſanction and aid of ſuch friends, Sir Henry Spelman carried on his work, which is in the

the form of a lexicon, as far as the letter L, and the reaſon he proceeded no further is ſuppoſed to be, that he had diſcuſſed the articles *Magna charta* and *Maximum conſilium* with a degree of truth and political freedom, which made his friends apprehenſive of the conſequences, the reign of James I. not being a ſeaſon to ſpeak freely, either of the prerogative of the king, or the liberty of the ſubject, both which upon many occaſions would have fallen in his way under the letter M.

The ſecond part was left unfiniſhed by our author, after his death it came into the hands of his ſon Sir John Spelman, who had abilities to have finiſhed it, but he was taken off by a fever at a premature age; and after the reſtoration, the copy, by what means is not mentioned, paſſed into the poſſeſſion of Sir William Dugdale who printed it at the requeſt of Lord Chancelor Hyde, ſoon after the reſtoration. It is generally allowed that this part is very inferior to the firſt, and ſome have charged Sir William Dugdale with alterations and additions of his own; but the learned Dr. Gibſon, late biſhop of London, in his life of Sir Henry Spelman aſſures us, that the very copy from whence it was printed, is in the Bodleian library in Sir Henry's own hand, and exactly agrees with the printed book; it muſt therefore be genuine as far as the copy goes, which is to the word *Riota*, but the reſt of the copy having been loſt, before it came to the Bodleian library, a doubt may remain concerning the remainder after letter R.

The next work preſented to the public by Sir Henry, was an edition of the Engliſh councils, intitled, "A Hiſtory of the Engliſh councils." In the proſecution of this work he was particularly encouraged, as he obſerves in the preface, by the archbiſhops Abbot, Laud, and Uſher. The plan was divided into three parts, and a volume aſſigned to each diviſion.

viſion. The firſt to contain the hiſtory of the Engliſh councils from the firſt plantation of chriſtianity to the acceſſion of William the conqueror.

The ſecond from the Norman conqueſt to the caſting off the Pope's ſupremacy, and the diſſolution of monaſteries by Henry VIII.

The third, the hiſtory of the reformed Engliſh church from Henry VIII. to his own time.

The firſt volume was publiſhed in 1639, about two years before his death, with his own annotations upon the more difficult paſſages. The ſecond volume was publiſhed by Sir William Dugdale, in 1664, but with many faults; the third was never executed.

Sir Henry Spelman was a great encourager of learning and of men of letters; and his endeavours to revive the knowledge and ſtudy of the old Saxon language ought to be conſidered as an eſſential ſervice to the ſtudent's antient britiſh hiſtory and antiquities. He had found the great uſe of his own knowledge of that tongue in the courſe of his reſearches, and lamenting the neglect of it both at home and abroad, which was ſo very general that he did not then know one man in the world who was perfectly maſter of it; he inſtituted a Saxon lectureſhip in the univerſity of Cambridge, and allowed Mr. Abraham Wheelock, a divine who had a competent knowledge of it, a ſalary of ten pounds per annum, for reading the lectures; he likewiſe preſented him the vicarage of Middleton in the county of Norfolk, with the profits of the impropriate rectory of the ſame church, both of which he intended to have ſettled in perpetuity as an endowment of the lectureſhip; but Sir Henry and his eldeſt ſon both dying within the courſe of two years, the civil war enſuing, and the family eſtate being ſequeſtered, this laudable deſign proved abortive.

Sir Henry Spelman died at London in 1641, and was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, near Camden's monument.

In

In 1698, Mr. Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, collated and published in one volume, Folio, the posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, relating to the laws and antiquities of England, under the title of *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*. These were dedicated to Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, and were reprinted, together with a new edition of his English works published in his life time, by the same editor, in one volume Folio, in the year 1723.

Sir Henry, had eight children, four sons and four daughters, but no particular notice is taken by the writers of his life, of any, but the eldest son, whom he called, the heir of his studies, and the youngest John. The eldest was provided for a little before his father's death by Charles I. who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and made him master of Sutton hospital, at the request of Sir Henry, to whom the king first offered it. Sir John Spelman enjoyed the king's confidence, and after the civil war broke out was commanded, in a letter written by Charles himself, to attend him at Oxford, where he was one of that unhappy monarch's secret council, and was employed to write papers in vindication of the proceedings of the court. Two of his political tracts are still extant, the one, "a view of a pretended book intitled, observations on his majesty's late answers and epistles;" Oxford 1642, in 4to; the other, "the case of our affairs in law, religion and other circumstances, briefly examined and presented to the conscience," Oxford 1643, in 4to; but it does not appear from these pieces that he inherited either the genius or the principles of his father with respect to politics; but in works of another class he succeeded much better. He published the Saxon psalter, under the title of *Psalterium Davidis Latino Saxonicum vetus*, from an old manuscript

manuſcript in his father's library, which he collated with three other copies. He alſo wrote the life of Alfred the Great in Engliſh, but did not live to print it. This performance does honour to his literary talents; it was tranſlated into Latin by the care of Obdiah Walker, maſter of Univerſity college, Oxford, and was publiſhed by him with notes and cuts, at Oxford in 1709. And the ſame year Mr. Hearne publiſhed it in Engliſh from the original copy.

Clement Spelman, the youngeſt ſon of Sir Henry, was bred to the law, and roſe to be a puiſne baron of the Exchequer upon the reſtoration of Charles II. This gentleman publiſhed ſome tracts relative to government, and a large preface to a new edition of his father's work, *De non temerandis eccleſiis*. He died in 1679.

*** *Authorities.* Gibſon's Life of Sir Henry Spelman, prefixed to the edition of his Engliſh works, London 1723. Wood's Athen. Oxon.

The LIFE of

WILLIAM DOBSON,

HISTORY and PORTRAIT PAINTER.

[A. D. 1610, to 1647.]

WILLIAM DOBSON, an eminent Engliſh painter, was born in London, in St. Andrew's pariſh, Holborn, in the year 1610; and

and deſcended from a family, at that time very eminent in St. Albans. Who firſt inſtructed him in the uſe of his pencil, is uncertain; but of this we are well aſſured, that he was put out very early an apprentice to one Mr. Peke, a ſtationer and trader in pictures, with whom he ſerved his time. Nature inclined him very powerfully to the practice of painting after the life; and by his maſter's procurement, he had the advantage of copying many excellent pictures, eſpecially ſome of Titian and Van Dyck. How much he was beholden to the latter of thoſe two great men, may eaſily be ſeen in all his works; no painter having ever come up ſo near to the perfection of that excellent maſter, as this happy imitator. He was alſo further indebted to the generoſity of Van Dyck, in preſenting him to king Charles I. who took him into his immediate protection, kept him in Oxford all the while his majeſty continued in that city, ſat ſeveral times to him for his picture, and obliged the prince of Wales, prince Rupert, and moſt of the lords of his court to do the ſame. He was a fair middle ſized man, of a ready wit, and pleaſing converſation; was ſomewhat looſe and irregular in his way of living; and, notwithſtanding the many opportunities he had of making his fortune, died very poor at his houſe in St. Martin's Lane, in the year 1647.

It is to be obſerved of our artiſt, that as he had the misfortune to want ſuitable helps, in his beginning, to apply himſelf to painting, ſo he alſo wanted more encouragement, than the unhappy times he flouriſhed in could afford. Nevertheleſs, he ſhone out through all diſadvantages; and it is univerſally agreed, that had his education and encouragement been anſwerable to his genius, England might juſtly have been as proud of her Dobſon, as Venice of her

her Titian, or Flanders of her Van Dyck. He was both a hiſtory and portrait painter; and there are in the collections of the curious ſeveral of his pictures of both kinds.

*** *Authorities.* Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England. Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

The LIFE of

INIGO JONES,

ARCHITECT.

[A. D. 1572, to 1651.]

THIS celebrated architect, was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's London, of which city his father, Mr. Ignatius Jones, was a citizen, and by trade a cloth-worker. At a proper age, it is ſaid, he put his ſon apprentice to a joiner, a buſineſs that acquires ſome ſkill in drawing, and in that reſpect ſuited well with our architect's inclination, which naturally led him to the art of deſigning. Genius concurred with inclination; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf early by the extraordinary progreſs he made in thoſe polite and uſeful arts, and was particularly taken notice of for his ſkill in the practice of landſkip painting. Theſe talents recommended him to the favour of that great patron of all liberal ſciences William earl of Pembroke, at whoſe expence he travelled over Italy and

and the politer parts of Europe; ſaw whatever ſtood recommended by its antiquity or value, and from theſe plans formed his own obſervations, which, upon his return home, he perfected by ſtudy and application.

But before that, the improvements he made abroad, gave ſuch an eclat to his reputation all over Europe, that Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, ſent for him from Venice, which was the chief place of his reſidence, and made him his architect general. He had been ſome time poſſeſſed of this honourable poſt, when that prince, whoſe ſiſter Anne had married king James I. made a viſit to England; this was in 1606, and our architect being deſirous to return to his native country, took that opportunity of coming home in the train of his Daniſh majeſty. The magnificence of king James's reign, in dreſs, buildings, &c. is the common theme of all the Engliſh hiſtorians. This laſt furniſhed Mr. Jones with an opportunity of exerciſing his talents, and the diſplay of thoſe talents proved an honour to his country. The queen appointed him architect preſently after his arrival, and not long after, he was taken, in the ſame character, into the ſervice of prince Henry, under whom he diſcharged his truſt with ſo much fidelity and judgment, that the king gave him the reverſion of the place of ſurveyor general of his majeſty's works.

In the interim his maſter prince Henry, dying in 1612, he made a ſecond viſit to Italy, and continued ſome years there, improving himſelf further in his favourite art, till the ſurveyor's place fell to him. On his entrance upon it, he ſhewed an uncommon degree of generoſity. The office of his majeſty's works having, through extraordinary occaſions, in the time of his predeceſſor, contracted a great debt, to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds;

pounds; the privy council ſent for the ſurveyor, to give his opinion what courſe might be taken to eaſe his majeſty of it, the exchequer being empty, and the workmen clamorous: Mr. Jones, conſidering well the exigency, not only voluntarily offered to ſerve without receiving one penny of his own entertainment, in whatever kind due, until the debt was fully diſcharged, but alſo perſuaded his fellow officers, the comptroller and paymaſter, to do the like, by which means the whole arrears were abſolutely cleared.

The king, in his progreſs 1620, calling at Wilton, the ſeat of the earl of Pembroke, among other ſubjects, fell into a diſcourſe about that ſurpriſing group of ſtones, called Stonehenge, upon Saliſbury plain, near Wilton. Hereupon our architect, who was well known to have ſearched into antique buildings and ruins abroad, was ſent for by lord Pembroke, and there received his majeſty's commands to produce, out of his own practice and experience in antiquities abroad, what poſſibly he could diſcover concerning this of Stonehenge. In obedience to this command, he preſently ſet about the work; and having, with no little pains and expence, taken an exact meaſurement of the whole, and diligently ſearched the foundation, in order to find out the original form and aſpect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where ſeen, and, after much reaſoning and a long ſeries of authorities, he concluded that this ancient and ſtupendous pile muſt have been originally a Roman temple, dedicated to Cœlus, the ſenior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuſcan order; that it was built when the Romans flouriſhed in peace and proſperity in Britain, and, probably, betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of

Conſtantine the Great, about 1650 years ago. This account he preſented to his royal maſter in 1620, and, on the 16th of November the ſame year, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for repairing St. Paul's cathedral in London.

Upon the death of king James, he was continued in his poſt by king Charles I. whoſe conſort entertained him likewiſe in the ſame ſtation. He had drawn the deſigns for the palace of Whitehall in his former maſter's time, and that part of it, the banqueting-houſe, was now carried into execution. It was firſt deſigned for the reception of foreign ambaſſadors; and the cieling was painted, ſome years after, by the famous Rubens, with the felicities of king James's reign. Prints from it by Simon Gribelin were publiſhed in 1724. The late lord Burlington publiſhed, in 1740, a north-weſt view of the palace, where this pavilion appears in its proper place, as part of that palace, in which there is ſeen a noble circular portico, whereof the firſt hint, Dr. Stukely thinks, might probably be ſuggeſted by the circular portico at Stonehenge.

In June 1633, an order was iſſued out, requiring him to ſet about the reparation of St. Paul's; and the work was begun ſoon after at the eaſt end, the firſt ſtone being laid by Dr. Laud, then biſhop of London, and the fourth by Mr. Jones. In reality, as he was the ſole architect, ſo the conduct, deſign, and execution of the work were intruſted intirely to him; and having reduced the body of it into order and uniformity, from the ſteeple to the weſt end, added there a magnificent portico, which raiſed the envy of all chriſtendom on his country, for a piece of architecture not to be paralleled in modern times. The whole was built at the expence of king Charles, who adorned it alſo with ſtatues of his royal father and himſelf. The portico conſiſted

fisted of solid walls on each side, with rows of Corinthian pillars set within, at a distance from the walls, to support the roof; being intended to be an ambulatory for such as usually before, by walking in the body of the church, disturbed the choir service.

While he was raising these noble monuments of his fame as an architect, he gave no less proofs of his genius in the fancy and judgment of the pompous machinery employed in masques and interludes, which entertainments were the vogue in his time. Several of these representations are still extant in the works of Chapman, Davenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben Jonson. The subject was chosen by the poet, and the speeches and songs were also of his composing; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses of the figures, was the contrivance of Mr. Jones; and herein he acted in concert and good harmony with father Ben for a while; but, about the year 1614, there happened a quarrel between them, which provoked Jonson to ridicule his associates under the characters of Lanthern Leatherhead, a hobby-horse seller, in his comedy of Bartholomew-fair. And the rupture seems not to have ended but with Jonson's death. A very few years before which, in 1635, he wrote a most virulent coarse satire, which he called, "An expostulation with Inigo Jones;" and, afterwards, "An epigram to a friend;" and also a third, inscribed to "Inigo, marquis would-be."

His rough treatment of Jones was not approved of at court, as we learn from the following passage in a letter from James Howell to Jonson. "I heard you censured lately at court, (says he) that you have lighted too foul upon Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is

becauſe I am your's in no common w y of friend-ſhip." But Jonſon not attending properly to his friend's hint, Howell wrote him the following letter upon the ſame ſubject:

" Father Ben,

" The fangs of a bear, and the tuſks of a wild boar, do not bite worſe, and make a deeper gaſh, than a gooſe quill ſometimes; no, not the badger himſelf, who is ſaid to be ſo tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, till he feels his teeth meet, and his bones crack. Your quill hath proved ſo to Mr Inigo Jones; but the pen wherewith you have ſo gaſhed him, it ſeems was made rather of a porcupine, than a gooſe quill, it is ſo keen and firm. You know

" Anſer, apis, vitulus, populus et regna gubernant, the gooſe, the bee, and the calf, (meaning wax, parchment, and pen) rule the world; but of the three, the pen is moſt predominant. I know you have a commanding one, but you muſt not let it tyrannize in the manner you have done lately. Some give out there was a hair in it, or that your ink was too thick with gall, elſe it would not have ſo beſpattered and ſhaken the reputation, of a royal architect: for reputation, you know, is like a fair ſtructure, long a rearing, but quickly ruined. If your ſpirit will not let you retract, yet you ſhould do well to repreſs any more copies of the ſatire: for to deal plainly with you, you have loſt ſome ground at court by it, and, as I hear from a good hand, the king, who hath ſo great a judgment in poetry, (as in all other things elſe) is not pleaſed therewith. Diſpence with this freedom of

Your reſpectful ſon and ſervitor,

Weſtminſter,
3 July, 1635.

J. H."

Jonſon at length paid ſo much attention to his friend Howell's advice, that he entirely ſuppreſſed ſatire againſt Inigo above referred to. However, it has been ſince printed from a manuſcript of the late Mr. Vertue, the engraver, and is inſerted in the edition of Ben Jonſon's works, publiſhed in 1756.

It appears that our Architect had made ſome attempts in the poetical way, either in the buſineſs of maſques, or otherwiſe. This intruſion into the poet's province raiſed Ben's ſpleen, and it has been ſuppoſed that this was the real cauſe of the quarrel between him and Inigo. For in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal ſtroke of ridicule beſtowed upon Lanthern in Bartholomew-fair, (the character under which Jones is ſatyrized) conſiſts in the title there given him of "Parcel Poet." In the mean time, Mr. Jones received great encouragement from the court, ſo that he acquired a handſome fortune. But it was much impaired by the loſſes which he ſuffered in conſequence of his loyalty; for as he had a ſhare in his royal maſter's proſperity, ſo had he a ſhare alſo in his misfortunes. Upon the meeting of the long parliament in November, 1640, he was called before the houſe of peers, on a complaint exhibited againſt him by the pariſhioners of St. Gregory's in London, for damages done to that church, on repairing St. Paul's cathedral. The church being old, and ſtanding very near the cathedral, was thought to be a blemiſh to it, and therefore was taken down, purſuant to the king's direction, and orders of the council, in 1639, in the execution of which our ſurveyor was chiefly concerned. But, in anſwer to the complaint, he pleaded the general iſſue; and, when the repairing of the cathedral ceaſed, in 1642, ſome part of the

materials remaining were, by order of the house of lords, delivered to the parishioners of St. Gregory's, towards the rebuilding of their church. This prosecution put Inigo to a considerable expence; and as he was both a royalist and a Roman catholic, in 1646 he paid 545*l.* for his delinquency and sequestration. And Mr. Walpole informs us, that he and Stone, the statuary and architect, buried their joint stock of ready money in Scotland-yard; but an order being published to encourage the informers of such concealments, and four persons being privy to the spot where the money was hid, it was taken up, and re-buried in Lambeth marsh.

Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was continued in his post by that monarch. But it was only an empty title at that time, nor did Jones live long enough to make it any better. Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life at Somerset-house, on the 21st of July, 1651; and on the 26th of the same month he was buried in the church of St. Bennet's Paul's-wharf, where a monument was erected to his memory, which was destroyed in the fire of London.

Inigo Jones was not only the greatest architect in England, but the most eminent in his profession at that time in Europe. He is generally stiled the British Vitruvius; and Mr. Webb, who knew him well, asserts that his abilities, in all human sciences, surpassed most of his age. He was a great master of the mathematics and particularly an excellent geometrician. He had some insight into the two learned languages, greek and latin, especially the latter. And Sir Anthony Vandyke used to say of him, that, in designing with his pen, he was not to be equalled by any great masters of his time, for the boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness of his

his touches. Among the works of this great master are the following:

1. The Banqueting-house, Whitehall, already mentioned.

2. Barber's-hall, in Monkwell-street, London. This is a very fine edifice, and the theatre is particularly admired, as an admirable fabric for seeing and hearing. It was erected for the use of the surgeons, and here dissections used to be performed, and lectures read. But when the barbers and surgeons, who used to be united in one company, were formed into distinct and separate companies, this hall was given by act of parliament to the barbers.

3. The new buildings, fronting the gardens, at Somerset-house.

4. The church and piazza of Covent-garden. These have been much admired by the connoisseurs in architecture; and in particular it has been said of the church, that it is one of the most simple, and, at the same time, most perfect pieces of architecture, that the art of man can produce. The ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole is, however, of a different opinion. He says, "The arcade of Covent-garden and the church, are two structures of which I want taste to see the beauties. In the arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilasters are as errant and homely stripes as any plasterer would make. And the barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn.

5. Lincoln's-inn-fields. This fine square was originally laid out by the masterly hand of Inigo; and it is said that the sides of it are the exact measure of the great pyramid of Egypt. It was intended to have been built all in the same style; but there

were not a ſufficient number of people of taſte to accompliſh ſo great a work. The houſe which was late the duke of Ancaſter's, is built on this model; but elevated and improved ſo as to make it more ſuitable to the quality of the owner. It has that ſimple grandeur, which characterizes all the deſigns of this great architect.

6. Shafteſbury-houſe, late the lying-in-hoſpital in Alderſgate-ſtreet.

7. The garden front of Wilton-houſe, the ſeat of the earl of Pembroke; and alſo ſome other parts of that noble edifice.

8. The Queen's houſe at Greenwich.

9. The Grange in Hampſhire, the ſeat of the earl of Northington.

10. Piſhiobury, in Hertfordſhire.

11. Gunnerſbury, near Brentford, the ſeat of the princeſs Amelia.

*** *Authorities.* Gen. Biog. Dict. and Britiſh Biography, vol. IV. 1768.

SUPPLE-

SUPPLEMENT.

The LIFE of

DR. JAMES USHER,

ARCHBISHOP of ARMAGH.

[A.D. 1580, to 1655.]

THE ſupplement to this volume cannot be cloſed with greater propriety than by the addition of another learned man, who greatly contributed to the revival of a taſte for the ſtudy of hiſtory and antiquities, which, owing to the genius of the illuſtrious few whoſe lives are here given, and of Sir James Ware, a friend and countryman of archbiſhop Uſher, whoſe life will be found in the next volume, was carried to a greater degree of perfection in this kingdom, than at any æra preceding their time.

James Uſher was deſcended from the ancient family of the Nevils, whoſe anceſtor went over from England to Ireland in quality of gentleman uſher to king John, and there changed his family name to that of his office, which his deſcendants from that time retained; and they branched out into ſeveral families of repute in and near Dublin, and for ages enjoyed conſiderable offices in that city.

His father was Mr. Arnold Uſher, one of the ſix clerks in the court of chancery in Dublin, a gentleman highly eſteemed for his integrity and good conduct. His mother was the daughter of James Stanihurſt, Eſq; recorder of Dublin, one of the maſters in chancery, and ſpeaker of the Iriſh houſe of commons in three parliaments in the reign of Elizabeth, in the laſt of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by propoſing the plan of founding and endowing the college and univerſity of Dublin; which was ſoon after conſented to by her majeſty; and, being perfected, hath ever ſince continued to be a celebrated ſeminary for learning and good manners.

He was born at Dublin in 1580, and from early infancy diſcovered a ſtrong paſſion for books, and a moſt ſingular circumſtance attended the firſt effort he made to attain literary knowledge: he was taught to read Engliſh, that is, to pronounce it right, by two aunts, who were both blind from their cradle, but having very retentive memories, and, what is called, a good ear for ſounds, by frequently repeating to him, they accompliſhed their point; but we muſt ſuppoſe he was firſt taught the alphabet by ſome other perſon.

The next advances he made towards a liberal education was attended with circumſtances as remarkable as the firſt.

Two gentlemen of Scotland, eminent for their learning and diſtinguiſhed by their rank in life, but whoſe buſineſs and quality were then unknown, came to Dublin in 1588, being ſent thither by James I. (then king of Scotland) to keep a correſpondence with the Engliſh proteſtant nobility and gentry about Dublin, in order to ſecure his intereſt in that kingdom, againſt the death of queen Elizabeth; theſe, for a colour, undertook the employment

ployment of schoolmasters to instruct and discipline youth in learning and good education (for the want of such was very great there at that time). The one was James Fullerton; (afterward knighted, and made one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber to king James,) the other was James Hamilton, afterwards created viscount Clandebois. To their instruction and tuition young Usher was committed by his parents, with whom he made so great a proficiency, that he became the best scholar of the school for Latin, poetry and rhetoric, in the space of five years.

In the year 1593, Trinity-college in Dublin was finished, and Usher, then in the thirteenth year of his age, being adjudged by his schoolmasters sufficiently qualified for admittance into that seminary, was entered accordingly: Dr. Loftus (sometime fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge) afterwards archbishop of Dublin, being first provost of that college, and Mr. Hamilton one of Usher's schoolmasters, senior fellow, and his tutor. Usher's name (as the first scholar there) stands to this day in the first line of the register, with a presage annexed, that he might prove an honour and ornament to that college and nation, as he afterwards did.

Here he applied very diligently to the study of the languages and the liberal arts, but his chief delight was in ecclesiastical history and antiquity, in all which he improved to admiration, for between fifteen and sixteen years of age he had made such proficiency in chronology, that he had drawn up in Latin, an exact chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of Kings, not much differing from the method of his late Annals, excepting the enlargements in some more accurate observations and synchronisms of heathen stories.

The

The earl of Eſſex arriving in 1598, in quality of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin, there was a ſolemn act for his entertainment. Mr. Uſher being then batchelor of arts, defended the philoſophy act with great approbation. But while he was buſily employing himſelf in theſe ſtudies and great deſigns, to qualify himſelf for the ſacred functions of the miniſtry; his father recommended to him the ſtudy of the common law (deſigning to ſend him ſhortly over to the inns of court in England) but to this the ſon was very averſe, it no ways ſuiting with his natural temper and complexion; yet dutifully would he have ſubmitted, if his father could not be brought to alter his mind in that matter: accordingly he had reſolved to ſubmit, when his father's death, which happened ſoon after, left him at liberty to purſue his own inclinations; and the paternal eſtate deſcended to him, which was of conſiderable value: but this young heir was ſo far from being tranſported by ſuch an acceſſion of fortune, that it did not in the leaſt ſhake him from from his deſign; for finding it ſomewhat incumbered with law-ſuits, and ſiſters portions, and fearing thoſe might prove a hindrance to the courſe of his ſtudies, he choſe rather to commit himſelf to the providence of God, and ſo very frankly gave his inheritance to his brother, and his ſeveral ſiſters, for their portions; only reſerving ſo much of it as might enable him to buy ſome books, and afford him a competent maintenance in the college.

Not long after this event, he was thought the fitteſt perſon to enter the liſts of diſputation with a daring and learned jeſuit, one Henry Fitz Symonds, then priſoner in the caſtle of Dublin, who ſent out a challenge, defying the greateſt champion, and beſt learned, to diſpute with him about the points

in

in controverſy between the Roman and reformed churches: Mr. Uſher accepted the challenge, and accordingly they met; the jeſuit deſpiſed him at firſt, on account of his youth, conſidering him only as a boy; but after one or two public diſputations, he was ſo ſenſible of the quickneſs of his wit, the ſtrength of his argument, and his ſkill in diſputation, that he declined all further conteſt with him.

In 1600, Mr. Uſher took the degree of maſter of arts; and the ſame year he was choſen catechiſt-reader in the college. And being not long after appointed to preach conſtantly before the great officers of ſtate, at Chriſt-church in Dublin, on ſundays in the afternoon, he made it his buſineſs to treat of the chief points of controverſy between the Romiſh church, and ours; in which diſcourſes he was ſo clear, powerful, and convincing, that he thereby ſettled many that were wavering, and converted divers from the ſuperſtitious perſuaſion, to the church of England. Neither muſt it be forgotten, that after the Engliſh forces had beaten and driven out the Spaniards in 1603, who then came to the aſſiſtance of the Iriſh rebels at Kinſale, the Engliſh officers reſolved to do ſome worthy act, that might be a laſting memorial of the gallantry of military men; and of their regard for religion and learning. To promote which, they raiſed among themſelves, out of the arrears of their pay, the ſum of one thouſand eight hundred pounds, to buy books to furniſh the library of the univerſity of Dublin. This ſum they paid into the hands of Dr. Chaloner, and Mr. Uſher, to procure ſuch books, as they ſhould judge moſt neceſſary for the library, and moſt uſeful for the advancement of learning, which they accordingly undertook; and went to England for that purpoſe; where, and from foreign parts they procured the beſt books in every ſcience then to be had.

And

And it is somewhat remarkable, that at the time when they were at London about laying out this money in books, they met Sir Thomas Bodley there, also purchasing books for his new erected library at Oxford, which laid the foundation of an intimacy between Mr. Usher and Sir Thomas, and they proved useful to each other upon this and subsequent occasions: thus we see that the famous Bodleian library at Oxford, and that of Dublin began together. About this time, the chancellorship of St. Patrick, Dublin, being vacant, he was promoted to this dignity, which was the first ecclesiastical preferment he had, and which he retained without seeking any other benefice; he lived upon it for some years, and kept hospitality proportionable to his income; nor cared he for any overplus at the year's end (for indeed he was never a hoarder of money) but for books and learning he had a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thought a good book (either manuscript or printed) too dear.

In 1606, he went a second time to England, to purchase books and manuscripts, and then became acquainted with the celebrated Camden, who was at that time deeply engaged in finishing a new edition of his Britannia; and he took this opportunity to consult Mr. Usher upon several articles relative to the antient state of Ireland and of the city of Dublin, on which subjects Usher after his return to Ireland, wrote such curious, satisfactory letters to Mr. Camden, that he incorporated most of them into his work, with this polite and grateful acknowledgment. "Thus much I have to observe of Dublin; for the greatest part of which I must confess myself indebted to the diligence and learning of James Usher, Chancellor of St. Patrick's, whose variety of learning and soundness of judgement infinitely surpass his years."

In

In the year 1607, being the twenty-seventh of his age, he took the degree of batchelor of divinity, and soon after he was chosen divinity-professor in the university of Dublin; and about this time, there being a great dispute respecting the Herenagh Terman, or Corban lands, which anciently belonged to the Chor-episcopi, or body of bishops of England and Ireland; Mr. Usher wrote a learned treatise of it, which was so highly approved, that it was sent to archbishop Bancroft, and by him presented to king James; the substance of it was afterwards translated by Sir Henry Spelman, into Latin, and published in the first part of his Glossary, as himself acknowledgeth, giving him there this character, "Literarum insignis Pharus:" This treatise is still in manuscript at the archbishop's library at Lambeth.

This year also he made a third voyage to England, to buy books, and to converse with learned men; and was now first taken notice of at court, preaching before the household, which was a great honour in those days: and, whilst here, he made it his business to study antiquity; for which purpose he enquired after, and consulted, the best manuscripts of both universities; and in all libraries, both public and private; and from this time he made it a practice to visit England once in three years; passing one month of the summer season at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the rest at London, chiefly in the Cottonian library, Sir Robert Cotton having cultivated a close friendship with him.

About the beginning of the year 1610, he was unanimously chosen by the fellows of Trinity-college Dublin, to the provostship of that house; but he refused it, fearing it might prove a hindrance to his studies. No other reason can be given for his refusal.

In 1612, he took the degree of doctor of divinity, to

to which he was admitted by Dr. Hampton, then archbiſhop of Armagh; and he made two prelections upon this occaſion; one on the ſeventy weeks of Daniel, and the other on the Millenium of the apocalypſe.

The next year, being at London, he publiſhed his treatiſe, "De Eccleſiarum Chriſtianarum Succeſſione et Statu, &c." which was highly approved by his learned friends Iſaac Caſauban, and Abraham Sculter, who prefixed encomiaſtic verſes to the work in Greek and Latin, and being dedicated to king James it was ſolemnly preſented to him by archbiſhop Abbot as the eminent firſt fruits of the college of Dublin. It is imperfect for about three hundred years, from Gregory XI. to Leo X. i. e. from 1371 to 1513, and from thence to this laſt century; which he intended to have added, had God afforded him a longer life.

Soon after his return to Ireland he married Phœbe only daughter of Luke Challoner, doctor of divinity of the antient family of the Challoners, in Yorkſhire, who had been a great aſſiſter and benefactor to the late erected college at Dublin, having been appointed overſeer of the building, and treaſurer.

He was a learned and pious man, and had ſuch a friendſhip for Dr. Uſher, that he courted his alliance and intended, had he lived, to have given him this his only daughter, with a conſiderable eſtate in land and money; but dying before he could ſee the marriage concluded, he charged her, upon his deathbed, that, if Dr. Uſher would marry her, ſhe ſhould think of no other perſon for a huſband; which command of her dying father ſhe punctually obeyed, and was accordingly married to him ſoon after her father's death.

In 1615, a parliament being held at Dublin, a convocation of the clergy was alſo aſſembled, wherein the articles of the church of Ireland, were drawn by

by Dr. Uſher, at the requeſt of the other members of the convocation who ſigned them, and they were publiſhed. The turn of ſome of theſe articles incurred him the cenſure of favouring puritaniſm, and this reached the ears of the king; but Uſher in his next cuſtomary viſits to his friends in England; carried over recommendatory letters from the privy council of Ireland to that of England, by means of which he obtained private audiences of the king, who was ſo thoroughly ſatisfied with his religious principles, that in 1620, he promoted him to the biſhopric of Meath, in Ireland, being then void, with this expreſſion, That Dr. Uſher was a biſhop of his own making.

The biſhop of Meath being at Dublin in 1622, was deſired by the adminiſtration to make an admonitory oration in the ſtate-chamber in the caſtle to certain officers who were to be cenſured for ſcrupling to take the oaths of ſupremacy; his ſpeech upon this occaſion being tranſmitted to the king he was ſo highly pleaſed with it, that he wrote him a letter of thanks for it.

After the biſhop had been in Ireland about two years, it pleaſed king James to employ him to write the antiquities of the Britiſh church; and, that he might have the better opportunity and means for that end, he ſent over a letter to the lord-deputy and council of Ireland, commanding them to grant a licence for his being abſent from his ſee. Upon which ſummons the biſhop came to England, and ſpent about a year in conſulting the beſt manuſcripts in both univerſities and private libraries, in order to the perfecting that noble work, "De Primordiis Eccleſiarum Britannicarum."

Soon after his return to Ireland he was for ſome time engaged in anſwering the bold challenge of Malone, an Iriſh jeſuit, of the college of Lorrain.

The

The bishop was in England again just before the death of king James, and the archbishopric of Armagh, fortunately for him, becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Hampton, the late archbishop; the king was pleased to nominate him, though there were divers competitors, as the fittest person for that great charge and high dignity of the church, and not long after, he was elected archbishop by the dean and chapter.

The last testimony he received of his majesty's favour, was his letter to a person of quality in Ireland who had newly obtained the custodium of the temporalities of that see, forbidding him to meddle with, or receive, any of the rents, or profits of the same; but immediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present archbishop, since he was here employed in his majesty's special service, &c.

Dr. Usher, upon this promotion, received congratulatory letters from lord viscount Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland, from all the great officers of state, and from the bench of bishops of that kingdom, expressing their joy upon his nomination to the primacy; but he did not return to his native country till 1626, having been detained in England nine months by a quartan ague.

In the administration of the archbishopric, he acted, as he had done in every other station, in a most exemplary manner; he admonished, exhorted and reformed the inferior clergy, and vigorously opposed the design of granting more toleration to the Irish papists. A general assembly of the whole nation, both papists and protestants, was called by the then lord-deputy Falkland upon this subject.

The meeting was in the hall of the castle of Dublin. The bishops, by the lord-primate's invitation, met first at his house; and both he and they

they then unanimouſly drew up and ſubſcribed a proteſtation againſt the toleration of popery. The judgment of the biſhops prevailed ſo much with the proteſtants, that the propoſals of the Roman catholics, to provide at their expence, a ſtanding army for the defence of the kingdom, againſt its foreign and domeſtic enemies, upon certain conditions of toleration were rejected.

The archbiſhop was now enabled more amply to gratify his ruling paſſion, the love of antiquity; he laid aſide every year, a conſiderable ſum for the purchaſe of valuable books and manuſcripts; and, amongſt others, by the means of Mr. Thomas Davis, then a merchant at Aleppo, he procured one of the firſt Samaritan pentateuchs that ever was brought into theſe weſtern parts of Europe (as Mr. Selden, and Dr. Walton acknowledge) as alſo the Old Teſtament in Syriac, much more perfect than had hitherto been ſeen in theſe parts. This pentateuch, with the reſt, were borrowed from him by Dr. Walton, afterwards biſhop of Cheſter, and by him made uſe of in the Polyglot Bible: all which manuſcripts being afterwards retrieved out of the hands of the ſaid biſhop's executors, are now in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

In 1631, the lord primate publiſhed at Dublin, "The hiſtory of Gotteſchalcus, and of the Predeſtinarian Controverſy," being the firſt latin book that was ever printed in Ireland. And in 1632, he alſo publiſhed there, a collection of antient letters under the title of "Veterum Epiſtolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab Hibernos, partim de Hibernis, vel rebus Hibernicis ſunt conſcriptæ." Commencing about the year 592, and ending about 1180, containing divers curious matters, relating to the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and juriſdiction of the church of Ireland in thoſe times.

Upon

Upon the meeting of the parliament of Ireland in 1634, a diſpute aroſe between the primate, and the archbiſhop of Dublin concerning precedence; but Uſher aſſerted his right ſo clearly that the point was determined in his favour.

In 1640, the archbiſhop came to England with his family on his private affairs, and intended to have returned again very ſoon to Ireland, but from this time he never ſaw his native country. Charles I. had ſhewn him marks of his eſteem and favour upon his acceſſion, for he had granted him an order on the treaſury of Ireland for 400*l.* upon his return home ſoon after that event; and he had continued to place great confidence in him, and the archbiſhop on his part having ſhewn upon many occaſions a ſincere attachment to the king, it is no wonder a man of his abilities ſhould be detained at the Engliſh court at a time, when his Majeſty's affairs began to wear ſo gloomy an aſpect.

The firſt inſtance however, of his being known to interfere in the public councils of England was in the conteſt between his majeſty and the two houſes of parliament, concerning his paſſing the bill for the earl of Strafford's attainder. The King much perplexed and divided between the clamours of a diſcontented people and an unſatisfied conſcience, thought fit to adviſe with ſome of his biſhops what they thought he ought to do in point of conſcience (as he had before conſulted his judges in matter of law) among which his majeſty thought fit to make choice of the lord primate for one, though without his ſeeking or knowledge; but ſince ſome men, either out of ſpleen, or becauſe they would not retract from what they had once written from vulgar report, have thought fit to publiſh, as if the lord primate ſhould adviſe the king to ſign the bill for the ſaid earl's attainder, it will not be amiſs to inſert the relation of this matter which Dr. Bernard had

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under his own hand; and has printed in his funeral sermon.

"That Sunday morning wherein the king consulted with the four bishops (of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle) the archbishop of Armagh was not present, being preaching (as he then accustomed himself every Sunday to do) in the church of Covent-garden; where a message coming unto him from his majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was then (as he saw) employed about God's business; which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the king, to understand his pleasure: but the king spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the lord Strafford's case, with the lords of his council, and the judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to his majesty's presence. There the question was again agitated, "Whether the king in justice, might pass the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford (for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all) no man doubting but that the king, without the least scruple of conscience might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of state (in which the bishops were made neither judges, nor advisers) did not hinder him.

The whole result therefore of the determination of the bishops was to this effect; that therein the matter of fact, and matter of law, were to be distinguished: that of the matter of fact, he himself might make a judgement, having been present at all proceedings against the said earl; where, if upon hearing the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him: but for the matter in law, what was treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the judges; whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his subjects:

subjects: which gave his majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the judges with him not long before: That having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular, what part of the lord of Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable (for as much as upon the hearing of the proof produced, he might in his conscience, perhaps, find him guiltless of that fact) he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that upon the whole matter, treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting, it was observed, that the bishop of London did not speak, but the bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing into the king's hand, wherein, what was contained, the rest of his brethren knew not."

Not many months after the execution of the earl of Strafford, news of the breaking out of the horrid Irish rebellion arrived, and that the rebels had plundered the archbishop's house in the country, seized on his rents, quite ruined, or destroyed his tenements, killed, or drove away his numerous flocks, and herds of cattle, to very great value; and, in a word, had not left him any thing in that kingdom, which escaped their fury, but his library, and some furniture in his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of that place, notwithstanding a long and dangerous siege by those rebels; which library was some years after conveyed over to Chester, and from thence to London: this reduced him to a very low condition, happening soon after Michaelmas, when he expected a return of his rents, so that he was forced, for his present supply, to sell or pawn all the plate and jewels he had; this, tho' a very great trial, yet made not any change in his temper, still submitting to providence, with Christian patience. Yet these afflictions were sufficient to move compassion, even in the breasts of foreigners; for, some months after his losses, the city

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and university of Leyden offered to chuse him their honorary professor, with a more ample stipend, than had been formerly annexed to that place: and Dr. Bernard, in his above-cited sermon, likewise tells us, that cardinal Richlieu did, about the same time, make him an invitation to come into France, with a promise of a very noble pension, and freedom of his religion there; and that this is not unlikely may be proved from the great respect that cardinal had for him, which he expressed in a letter to him accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, having his own effigies stamped upon it, which is still preserved; these were sent him upon his publishing his work, De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanicarum. But it pleased his majesty to provide for him much better in England, by conferring on him the bishopric of Carlisle (then void by the death of Dr. Potter) to hold in commendam; this, though very much abated by the Scotch and English armies quartering upon it, as also by the unhappy wars which not long after followed; he made shift to subsist upon, with some other helps, until the long parliament seized upon all bishops lands; and tho' in consideration of his great losses in Ireland, as also of his own merits, and to make him some satisfaction for what they took away, they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds per annum, and after their dissolution Dr. Bernard assures us, that Oliver Cromwell, made him a competent allowance for his subsistence, with which he was contented, which he says he received for the archbishop to the last, besides other very considerable sums extraordinary.

But we must now return from this digression, and pursue our worthy prelate through the remaining scenes of his valuable life. Upon the king's marching to Oxford in October 1642, archbishop Usher obtained leave of the parliament to retire to the same city; and the reverend Dr. Prideaux, bishop

biſhop of Worceſter (his good friend) lent him his houſe adjoining to Exeter-college, which he accepted of, as being near his buſineſs at the public library, where he now purſued his ſtudies, preparing divers treatiſes for the public view, ſome of which he alſo printed there, nor did he leſs endeavour to be ſerviceable to mens ſouls, than to the commonwealth of learning, preaching commonly at one church or other, every Sunday, and for great part of the time, in the forenoons, ſometimes at St. Olave's, and ſometimes at Alhallow's, where he had conſtantly a crouded audience, both of ſcholars and other perſons.

In 1643, he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines which met at Weſtminſter to ſettle the religion of the ſtate; in which the famous catechiſm now in uſe by the proteſtant diſſenters, and divers articles of religion were made. He refuſed to ſit among them; and this, together with ſome of his ſermons preached at Oxford, giving offence to the parliament, they ordered his library to be ſeized. It was ſeized accordingly, and would have been ſold by them, had not Dr. Featly, who ſat among thoſe divines, while his heart was with the king and the church of England, obtained it by means of Mr. Selden as for his own uſe, but in reality to reſtore it to the archbiſhop.

In 1645, it being ſtrongly rumoured, that Oxford would be beſieged by the parliament forces, the archbiſhop left that city, and retired to Caerdiffe in Wales to the ſeat of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter, and was then governor, and general of the ordnance, under the lord Gerard, lieutenant general of his majeſty's forces in South Wales.

Here he remained about ſix months, free from the dangers of war, this being a ſtrong garriſon, and well manned, which invited many perſons of quality

lity to come thither for ſafety, ſo that the lord primate had a good opportunity to purſue his ſtudies, having brought many cheſts of books along with him; and he now made a great progreſs in the firſt part of his ſacred annals.

At length, the king's army being ſo reduced as not to permit him to leave many men in garriſons, he was forced to unfurniſh this, as well as others, of its ſoldiers and ammunition; ſo that Sir Timothy Tyrrel was forced to quit his poſt: and the archbiſhop then accepted an invitation from the lady dowager Stradling to come to her caſtle of St. Donates.

In his journey thither he was extremely ill uſed by the Welch rabble, who were up in arms in the mountains, and took away his books and papers. But after his arrival at St. Donates, the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, by ordering public notice to be given in the churches and at the market places, that all perſons poſſeſſed of books or papers ſhould bring them to their miniſters or landlords, for which they ſhould be gratified, in about three months he recovered moſt of them.

While the archbiſhop was at St. Donates, he ſpent his time chiefly in looking over the books and manuſcripts in the library in that caſtle, which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, a great antiquary, and friend of Mr. Camden's; and out of theſe manuſcripts he made many choice collections of Britiſh or Welch antiquity; but he was prevented making all the uſe he intended, of this fine library, by a ſharp and dangerous illneſs, which began at firſt with a ſtrangury and ſuppreſſion of urine, with extremity of torture, and it cauſed a violent bleeding at the noſe, for near forty hours together; without any conſiderable intermiſſion; no means applied could ſtop it, ſo that the phyſicians, and all about him, deſpaired of his life, till at laſt (they appre-

hending he was expiring) it ſtopped of itſelf; and he recovered by degrees.

In 1646, he actually deſigned to go abroad; and had procured paſſes for that purpoſe; but vice admiral Molton, who commanded at ſea for the parliament, declaring that if he came in his way, he would ſecure him and deliver him up to the parliament; this detained him, till he received a preſſing invitation from the counteſs dowager of Peterborough, to come and make his abode with her, and ſhe would engage that he ſhould not be moleſted, but have all accommodations ſuitable to his condition, and the great affection and eſteem ſhe had for him, as a return for thoſe benefits ſhe had formerly received from him, in converting her lord, and ſecuring herſelf from popery. After ſome deliberation he thought fit to accept this kind offer; and having obtained paſſes for his journey, he left St. Donates, after almoſt a year's reſidence there. But it muſt not be forgotten, that before he left Wales, the great expences of his ſickneſs, and removals in the year paſt, had much reduced him, as to his purſe, nor knew he where to get it ſupplied; when it pleaſed God to put it into the hearts of divers worthy perſons of that country, to conſider that the lord primate had not only ſuffered much by the rudeneſs of the rabble (as hath been already related) but alſo by a long and expenſive ſickneſs: ſo they ſent him, unknown to each other, divers conſiderable ſums; by which means he had in a few weeks, enough to ſupply all his preſent occaſions, and alſo to defray the expences of his journey to England. This the pious prelate accounted a ſpecial providence, and was very thankful for it.

Being arrived ſafe at the counteſs of Peterborough's houſe in London, where he was moſt kindly received by her; he now met with a freſh diſturbance: there was

was an order of parliament, that whoſoever ſhould come from any of the king's garriſons, to London, muſt ſignify their names to the committee at Goldſmiths-hall, and there give notice of their being in town, and where they lodged. Accordingly, he ſent to Goldſmiths-hall to acquaint them, that he was in town, and at the counteſs of Peterborough's houſe, but they refuſed to take notice of his being in town, without his perſonal appearance; ſo upon a ſummons ſent from the committee of examinations at Weſtminſter, he appeared before them, when they ſtrictly examined him, where he had been ever ſince his departure from London, and whether he had any leave for his going from London to Oxford; he anſwered, he had a paſs from a committee of both houſes; they demanded farther, whether Sir Charles Coote or any other, ever deſired him to uſe his power with the king, for a toleration of religion in Ireland? He anſwered, that neither Sir Charles Coote, nor any other, ever moved any ſuch thing to him, but that as ſoon as he heard of the Iriſh agent's coming to Oxford, he went to the king, and beſeeched his majeſty not to do any thing with the Iriſh, in point of religion, without his knowledge: which his majeſty promiſed he would not; and when the point of toleration came to be debated at the council-board, the king, with all the lords there, abſolutely denied it; and he profeſſed for his part, that he was ever againſt it, as a thing dangerous to the proteſtant religion: having anſwered theſe queries, the chairman of the committee offered him the negative oath (which had been made on purpoſe for all thoſe that had adhered to the king, or came from any of his garriſons) but he deſired time to conſider of that, and ſo he was diſmiſſed, and appeared no more; for Mr. Selden, and others of his friends in the houſe, made uſe of their intereſt to

put a ſtop to that trouble. Not long after this, he retired with the counteſs of Peterborough to her houſe at Ryegate in Surry, where he often preached, either in her chapel, or in the pariſh church of that place.

About the beginning of the year 1647, he was choſen by the honourable ſociety of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher, which, after ſome ſolicitations, he accepted, and the treaſurer, and benchers of that houſe (whereof his good friend Mr. Hales, afterwards lord chief juſtice, was one) ordered him handſome lodgings, ready furniſhed; as alſo divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Cheſter.

Here he was moſt kindly received, and treated with all reſpect and honour, and continued preaching to the ſociety near ſeven years, till, at laſt, his eye-ſight and teeth began to fail him, ſo that he could not be well heard in ſo large a congregation, and he was forced, about a year and a half before his death, to quit that place, to the great trouble of that honourable ſociety.

During the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, between the king and the parliament, he was permitted, having received the king's commands, to wait on him there, and he had ſeveral private conferences with his majeſty, relative to the government of the church, in caſe an accommodation had taken place. After this, he ſaw no more of the king till the day of his execution, when being at the counteſs of Pembroke's houſe near Charing-croſs; her gentlemen and ſervants having been upon the leads where they could ſee the whole melancholy tranſaction, they informed him when his majeſty came upon the ſcaffold, and with great reluctance he went up, but when the executioners in vizards began to tuck up the king's hair, he turned pale, and would have

ſwooned,

ſwooned, if he had not been immediately carried off: he was however ſo deeply affected by the cataſtrophe, that he kept the anniverſary as a private faſt as long as he lived.

His great reputation having excited in Cromwell a deſire to ſee him, he ſent for him, and received him with great reſpect; it is alſo certain that he from this time ſettled a penſion upon him, but thoſe writers who have made it a point to blacken the character of Cromwell, though they give credit to Dr. Bernard for every other occurrence in his life of the archbiſhop, think proper to diſbelieve him in this, without producing any proof to the contrary.

The laſt public exerciſe performed by the archbiſhop was his preaching the funeral ſermon of the learned Mr. Selden in 1654, at the Temple church. In February 1655, he retired to the country ſeat of Lady Peterborough, at Ryegate in Surry, and aſſiduouſly ſtudied in making additions to his ſacred chronology. But his eyeſight being greatly decayed, he could only write at a window, and on clear days; yet he was apparently very healthy and vigorous for a man of his great age; but on the 20th of March he complained in the evening of a violent ſciatica, and the next morning he had ſtrong ſymptoms of a pleuriſy, which gave him great torture; he was ſenſible of his approaching end, and during the intervals of pain, which he bore with great patience upwards of fourteen hours, he was fervent in prayer, and in pious exhortations to all about him; and taking an affectionate leave of the counteſs of Peterborough, as the agonies of death came upon him, he deſired to be left to his private devotions. After which the laſt words he was heard to utter juſt before he expired, were, "O Lord forgive me, eſpecially my ſins of omiſſion." Thus died this truly excellent man, leaving behind him a moſt unxceptionable character,

character, especially for his moderation in ecclesiastical matters, for which he was charged by the high church prelates with puritanism, and remissness in his office. His relations intended to have buried him privately, at Ryegate, as they were not able to defray the expences of a public funeral: but Cromwell gave orders for his interment with great magnificence in Westminster abbey, at his own expence, though some say, he paid only part of the charge.

His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, preacher to the law-society of Gray's-inn, who had formerly been his chaplain, and it contains a summary of his life. Cromwell also enjoined his executors not to sell his library without his consent: it consisted of ten thousand volumes in print and manuscript, and after his decease was eagerly fought for by the king of Denmark and by cardinal Mazarine. But what escaped the plundering scenes of those times, were bestowed upon the college of Dublin, for which he intended it.

Archbishop Usher was an author of the first repute in the time in which he lived; and published a great many theological and polemical works in Latin and English; others were published after his death. He also left several manuscripts, amongst the rest, notes and observations on the writings and characters of the fathers and ecclesiastical authors, which he designed as the basis of an elaborate work to be intitled, *Theologica Bibliotheca*; the papers he left to the care of Dr. Langbaine of Queen's-college, who in pursuing the design in the public library at Oxford, got a severe cold, which occasioned his death in 1657, and then the work was dropt, though Dr. Fell made some attempts to get it finished. A copy of it, as far as it is done, is preserved in the Bodleian library.

But

But his principal work, which has rendered the name of Uſher famous in all parts of the world, where religious knowledge and ſacred hiſtory are revered, is, His Sacred Chronology, or Annals of the Old and New Teſtament, from the beginning of the world to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus Veſpaſian, A. D. 70. in two parts; the firſt part was publiſhed by himſelf in 1650, and the ſecond in 1654: they have been reprinted in one volume in Engliſh, at London and at Dublin; and in Latin, at Paris and at Geneva; and his Chronology has been almoſt univerſally followed: tho' in the part relative to the ancient Greek hiſtory, Sir Iſaac Newton differs from him, and has publiſhed a chronology of his own, much eſteemed by many learned men, but charged with error by others.

Archbiſhop Uſher's Annals are juſtly conſidered as a repoſitory of ancient hiſtory, and, as far as they go, with reſpect to the Roman hiſtory, which is to A. D. 73, they may be relied on; and are aſſuredly one of the beſt authorities extant. Beſides theſe, three hundred of his letters to his numerous learned correſpondents at home and in foreign parts were publiſhed at London, in one volume, folio, by Dr. Parr, another of his chaplains.

Authorities. Bernard's funeral ſermon for archbiſhop Uſher. Parr's life prefixed to his letters. Biog. Britan.

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